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A MEMOIR OF
ALEXANDER HUGH BRUCE, LORD
BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH, K.T.
6TH BARON



Portrait by Fiddes Watt, A.R.S.A.

[Frontispiece]

LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH.

A MEMOIR OF LORD
BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH
K.T.

BY
LADY FRANCES BALFOUR
LL.D., D.LITT.

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DEDICATED TO
"MY LADY"
WHO IN HER OWN HELD THE
HEART OF THE BRUCE

PREFACE

SOMETIMES a drawing by one unskilled in art holds a living picture of the subject, which the finished work of the artist has failed to catch. This memorial to a very vital Scot is by no famed artist. It is drawn by one who has sought to present the living man, set in the background of Scotland.

B. of B. lived in times which are hardly yet history, and it is impossible to write of great causes as fought or won. The space of time in which he lived is crowded with figures, small and great, and among them the individual is apt to be lost. This is an attempt to draw the portrait of an individual, as separate from the multitude.

Across the life of Lord Balfour ran the War, and with it the loss of the Master of Burleigh. That he had sons to take an active part, was both his pride and his glory. But human hearts are broken, though they would not have lost the glory for a single instant. Balfour gave the best he had to give all his life, to the Throne, to the Church Militant, and his beloved native land. If it was a covenant to be sealed with the blood of his first-born, he surrendered him also, gladly and with the submission of a Christian. But it numbered his own days on the earth.

In two respects he was a happy man: his was a perfectly united home, and his own unswerving temperament. He saw the path of Duty clearly, and he trod it unfalteringly till the end.

This Memorial could never have been written but for the records kept by Lady Balfour, which were put at my disposal by herself and the present Lord Balfour of Burleigh. They occupy many pages; no record in them has leapt to light that has not been consistent with the man, and his love of Truth.

I have been helped, notably by Lord Haldane's short but accurate survey of the character of Lord Balfour; by the friend of his early and solitary youth, Mrs. Pelham, and by the letters I have been permitted to use. The Mackintosh of Mackintosh has written a living portrait of B. of B. as a sportsman.

Something I learnt from my own friendship with him, but most have I learnt from the Church of Scotland, whose faithful soldier and servant he was to his life's end.

Something also from that country which we both called our own, and most from my deep sense that I was trying to recall the features of one who was an honourable, high-minded Scottish gentleman "all of the olden time."

FRANCES BALFOUR.

Island of Tiree.

September 6, 1924.

CONTENTS

CHAP.	PAGE
I. THE SAXON AND THE SCOT	1
II. ETON AND OXFORD	12
III. THE CHURCH WITHIN THE STATE	31
IV. THE LIBERAL PARTY AND DISESTABLISHMENT	43
V. PARLIAMENT AND THE BOARD OF TRADE	55
VI. SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND	65
VII. THE THRONE, AND THE HOME	79
VIII. THE HOUSE OF LORDS	103
IX. THE CONSTITUTION	115
X. THE UNITY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES	143
XI. BROKEN THREADS OF PEACE	159
XII. THE RED PLANET MARS	174
XIII. THE END, AND THE BEGINNING	192
APPENDIX	204
INDEX	211

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH	<i>Frontispiece</i>
(PORTRAIT BY FIDDES WATT, A.R.S.A.)	
	<i>Facing page</i>
BROTHER GIVES SISTER A RIDE ON DONALD, 1856	12
A. H. BRUCE AT OXFORD	20
CURLING: CARSEBRECK, 1898	24
GROUSE DRIVING, MAY 1904	28
"THE SLIM BALFOUR AND THE BURLEIGH BALFOUR" (CARTOON)	36 -
"TO THE WOODS" (CARTOON)	112
LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH, 1920	196

CHAPTER I

THE SAXON AND THE SCOT

"Thus in Scotland, the Church became a real power, not a name, not a privileged order—not a priestly superstition—but a tangible, intelligible thing—a living and active community."—ARGYLL.

WHEREIN lies the difference between the Scot and the Englishman?

It is there, as marked as in the days before the union was accomplished, but if you attempt to define it, the difference appears to melt away. The Scot, you say, when an individual is encountered, is typical of his race. You say this even more of the Englishman, and there are more divisions in England than in Scotland. You feel a Londoner could never have been bred on the Yorkshire moors, and the Midlands do not produce the types of Kent or of Suffolk. The Englishman can distinguish the Highlander from the Lowlander. He has had a moor or a deer forest, and he dimly realises the native: or, if he is a traveller he has met the Scot abroad, masters of commerce, of engineering, and of every industry where an honest and especially a good wage can be procured. The "salt of the earth" in every place that they have settled in, and annexed with their strong individuality. It is possible to argue that the races have intermingled and married, so as to be indistinguishable. Instances can be quoted, as indeed in the subject of this Memoir, where the education has been after the strictest order English, but the type emerges from the ordeal, polished, veneered with English ways and habits, but touch

the type in his patriotism, in his prejudices, in those things which are inherent in the history of Scotland. Touch him in his austere reserved religious beliefs, and before long you are on the bedrock of the granite Scot.

Even, if his profession or influence in the State or Church, makes it expedient for him to forget the land of his birth, and from whose characteristics he has drawn those virtues which have elevated him to high places and made him conspicuous in whatever branch of the affairs spiritual or temporal he has chosen. Even then, if nothing else betrays him, the cast of his features, the set of his figure, his very cheekbones and eyebrows, his rawboned frame, as the envious English have drawn him, betray the land of his birth, and the home whence has come his abnormal intelligence. Even when the Scot has carefully studied his speech, and softened its dialect to suit the clipped English tongue, still it is his speech that bewrayeth him. He pronounces his R's and Wh, as well-defined syllables. He never drops an H, and the broad A runs through his words. He and his accent are not to be parted, and he has in due course bewildered the Parliaments that have sat at Westminster.

What is more, his own tongue is specially dear to every Scot who hears it. The Englishman may smile at its explosive force, or at its incomprehensibleness to his ear, but the Scot hears in it the call of the blood, and will answer its most unreasonable requests, because it stirs in him that which he cannot name, that element which lies always closest to his inmost being.

And, how far spread and unmistakable is that tongue. The man from Dumfries will be met in a shop in Oxford Street. You ask the way from a constable,

who replies with the liquid tongue of a Celt. Go into the secret recesses of the government, and the officials of the Civil Service will meet you with heads as hard, and as full of opinions, as though they had never left Princes Street, or the University of Glasgow.

The Englishman watches their progress with complete toleration. He likes to see his work well done, and does not much care who does it. He has no passionate, unreasoning national prejudices. By-gones to him are by-gones; it would not be worth while to remember that Scotland and England were, and not so long ago, separate kingdoms. He knows that Scotland has become rich and prosperous owing to its union, and if the union stands for anything, it stands for equality of kinship.

All this is true of the Englishman, true in his relations with a world yet bigger than Scotland. But he is slow to understand other national histories, as he has been slow to understand the Scot. It has worked well in this country, because the Englishman has been willing to be "annexed," and the Scot has never been conquered; but the Scot has cared to master the English character and ways, and he is even more at home in England than ever the Englishman cares, or perhaps is intelligent enough, to become in Scotland.

Across the strain of Scot, there is the Celt to reckon with, as turbulent and uncertain as are those waters that make our island strength. He is as different from the Scot as every Scotsman, Lowlander or Celt, is from the Englishman. The man of the west coast is large of bone, slow and gentle to all appearance. Indolent, except in his own self-interest, even that is often neglected. Slow to go into battle, once in, with the slogan calling, a volcano of fiery valour. After the charge it is

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burnt out, and for the slower work of camp and field and trench, the Englishman is superior.

This is but a parable of the Celt "in the world's great bivouac." He will start out, called by some deep prejudice, some fiery conviction, he will call others into the fray, or the work. Leadership is always in him, but when the first interest has evaporated his energy will slacken and die out as completely as if it had never existed. The Celt is vindictive, and unforgetting, and nothing but this same lethargy of interest makes him forgo what is still in his heart of hearts "a blood feud." This is a providential arrangement, for if they pursued their quarrel with the same insensate fury, few would be left alive—and, on the other side of them, what comrades they can be! "Highlander shoulder to shoulder" is a watchword not only when the battle is set in array. They will give their all to the friend in need, and quarrel with him on some absolutely childish pretext. They are avaricious of money and lands, but they will give their last penny to their own people. The truth, as the Englishman knows it, is not in them. They are penurious to the point of being miserly. To them, the Englishman is a foolish spendthrift of his goods, while he regards the Celt as a composition of whisky and lying.

They are wholly lovable as children, as changeable as the mists, or the colours on their own washing seas. Adoring their own soil, devoted to its barren rocks and peaty bogs, with an unreasoning passion, which is wholly incomprehensible to the Lowlander, or the Saxon, they cling to its breast, as a lover to his mistress. The Saxon may lay before him the perfection of a manufactory, or may attempt to make him a good road through the crofts which he has inherited from his fathers before him. The good to

himself is obvious, but he refuses, and shows himself as sticking to his handful of soil, and his barren rights. Utterly poverty-stricken, but children of nature. Their souls steeped in things unseen, their sober wishes have never learnt to stray after other parts, or other lands. There the Highlander remains, and will remain, for he is not of those who can build and inhabit great cities. Remove him from his own coasts, and the race will die out.

Lastly, we have to deal with the religion of the Scot, as placing him apart from the Englishman. His religion is more part of his national history than is that of the English. He has had to fight to consolidate it; it was consolidated by the State for the Englishman. The Scot having seen the light of the Reformation from one angle, had it pressed upon him from another. It was the Episcopal form of religion, which in the hands of the Stuarts and the Bishops proved such an instrument of oppression and cruelty, and welded the Scot into the Presbyterian polity. It was a form which suited the Scot, as it could never suit the Englishman. The doctrines of Calvin came easily to people who were poor, inured to hardness, and austerity of life. They were led by men who knew their purpose, and felt themselves called of God to their task. As soon as one was removed, another was raised up. The people followed with fierce and often fanatical enthusiasm, and they learnt in many a bitter lesson to hate the Episcopate and all its ways. They were not ways of liberty, they savoured too much of conquest and oppression, and thus the Scot was alienated from Anglicanism and all its works. The Covenanters, and Westland Whigs, with the exception of one or two nobles, were all Lowlanders; the Celt had very little part in the Reformation. Temperamentally,

he was better suited to the forms of Rome than of Geneva. Superstitious, deeply mystical, always in need of authority, he might have done better had the Reformation never come "above the Pass." He had lived among the remains of the Culdee Church, and traditions of the Saints and Virgins, mingled with his folk-lore. He was not as closely knit to doctrine as he was to his Chief, and he went with him. If he thought the Reformed Faith good enough, so did the retainer, and at least the clan was not enriched by the spoil of Church lands. Long afterwards when "the Disruption" severed the Presbyterian Church, the Highlander followed his minister, as he had followed his chief of old, and among the Disruption Leaders was many a fighting minister, more eloquent and as fiery of speech, as any chieftain.

The Celt never suffered the hangings and the torture of the killing times that the Covenanting Whigs went through. The greater the persecution, the firmer stood the Scot. The blood of the martyrs was certainly the seed of Presbyterian polity. He believed in it, as he believed in every word of his creed, as he believed in his immortal soul, and that creed became again national, part of the land he loved, part of the deepest things that man can inherit.

To this day, if you speak to an Englishman of the National Church of Scotland, he believes you are referring to some form of nonconformity, as he knows it in England. Or he may think that the Scottish Episcopal Church, a poor but not persecuted "remnant" is the Church under discussion.

It may be explained to him that Scottish Episcopacy is one of the many sects in Scotland, but that it is not the Church of Scotland. He may hear with uncomprehending, because utterly uninterested ears, that since the Revolution of 1688, the first Act which

the Sovereign of Great Britain swears to uphold is that of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland. It may then be explained to the Englishman how the State and the Church in Scotland are separate, and yet one; how it is the religious system of the people of Scotland, but it is free from all State control; that it acknowledges the King as head in all affairs of the secular State, but that as regards the Presbyterian order and organisation he is only a member of the Christian body. The Sole Head of Presbyterianism is Christ. Every ordained minister is a Presbyter, its General Assembly is held under the Divine Authority, and to Him alone are His people in subjection. "That the Lord Jesus is King and Head of His Church. That the Government He hath appointed is in the hand of Church officers (the Eldership) and that this Government is distinct from the Civil magistrate."

In all this it differs very materially from the State Church of England. The Reformation took different lines, and the State set out to bridle the Church. The Scot saw things differently. He had no use for "the Proud Prelates of Anglicanism"; after his experience of the Stuart Kings, he was very unwilling to believe in the Divine Right, and he knew at the cost of his religious liberty that Kings were often serious "backsliders." He gave his theological mind to doctrine and he determined that every Scot born north of the Tweed should be in a position to read and study the Scripture for himself. It was out of a National zeal for Christianity, that the Scot became "the Educational Authority" of a larger world than his own.

Of all this, the Anglican is incredulous and unbelieving. He sees an organisation without Bishops. How then can ordination be valid? How can the Holy Communion be rightly administered, and how

can catechumens be authoritatively prepared without the laying on of a Bishop's hands? How can any "Unction from above" be poured out, save through the offices of the said Bishops, replete with staff and pectoral cross?

The Presbyterian service has no fixed Liturgy, it is cold, and bare. The Scot has no association with the pealing anthem, and the long-drawn note of praise—

"Where the organ rings,
And the sweet choir sings,
Along the emblazoned wall."

In his blood, the muirlands have been his cathedral; for music, he hears the shouts of the horsemen of the King's armies. He has suffered imprisonment, banishment, and every form of proscription, and he takes the barest barn for his sanctuary. This he showed when the Scot mishandled by an English Cabinet came out in 1843.

The Englishman's content with existing things is part of his conservative instinct just as Liberalism has been the tendency of Scotland. The Anglican has his prayer book as it has been ever since, in a fortunate hour, Bishop Cranmer compiled and wrote it ere his hand was burnt at the stake—a great possession of the Church, new born through the fires of Reformation. When Mr. Gladstone, with reformation zeal, the strongest bit of the Scot in him, set forth to found and establish Glen Almond School, he wrote to the then Prime Minister, the fourth Earl of Aberdeen, to enlist him on behalf of his project. The Prime Minister would give him no encouragement. He told him he had never thought it necessary "to renounce the religious persuasions of my ancestors, though there is much in the Southern Church which I greatly prefer, and to which I readily conform."

Lord Aberdeen had none of the zeal of a bigot. He knew that in England, her Church was beloved by the common people. Generations have lived and died in the faith of England's Church, and are sleeping their last sleep in many a God's Acre, through which runs the path that leads to the portal he associates with worship. He is content, and his soul has been fed by her ordered Christian year, and glorious liturgies.

Not so the Scot. Had his not been a persecuted Church, he would still have taken nothing for granted. His doctrine and his beliefs may be described as—

“ Every breath is battle
And every step a fall,
And less than loss of all things
Shall win no way at all.”

On some minute difference, not of doctrine, but of Church government he has split and disrupted, till he is assured only of the true faith of himself, and is doubtful of any other. His tenacity of faith has never produced in him all the cardinal virtues, often he has lost most of them, and suffered many things in a manner which was worthy of a better cause, albeit, with ever the vision before him, the yearning after a union between Church and State, worthy both of the Christian doctrine—ever striving after that Jerusalem which is above all and is free, the mother of all believers, the elect of God.

To the Englishman, the Scot appears as one who fights in a valley of dry bones for his creed. On one side, he has left the beauty of holiness. He has gone forth into desert places, hungry and thirsty, but ever striving after the hope that is in him. The Anglican is content. He is only slightly disturbed by that section of his Church who would superimpose “the Mass” on the ordered simplicity of the

Lord's Supper. Such a controversy in Scotland, might easily produce a civil war. He also is uncomprehending of the softness and lack of perception, as he thinks it, in the Church of England. Rome, to him, is a thing which stands apart, and to tamper with it is to court disaster. His doctrine has been determined, his theological and logical mind has grasped its principles. He knows the faith of other divisions of Christendom, on them and on his own faith he is austere and silent, and intensely reserved. In England he attends the English Church because it is Established and National.

If he is asked to conform to all its rites and tenets he merely "lifts his books," and goes to some simple Nonconformist Church, or, it is to be feared, more often becomes a backslider from all public worship.

He is ever recalled by some simple word or prayer, which touches the chord of home and country. He is at one with those who are lifting the old Paraphrase to wintry skies.

"God of our Fathers, be the God
Of their succeeding race."

The education of the Scottish youth in England has had a marked separating influence between the two peoples.

Many a father has sent his son to an English public School to give him "a polish," and found him again not exactly polished, for the Scot does not take kindly to the polishing tool, but influenced, and affected in a strong degree by the culture and ways of England. The schools are made on the Church of England pattern, so also are the English Universities. The Scot returns to his paternal house and surroundings with Anglican sympathies. This has widened the breach in the understanding of the two peoples.

Few of the Scottish landowners who have been brought up in England have cared to make themselves masters of the integral part of their nation's beliefs and practices. This was worse before the Patronage Bill ended a system where Episcopalians appointed the ministers to the Scottish Church. Not that patronage was abused, save in the rarest cases. To the credit of Scotsmen, however little they cared for the National Church, they were most conscientious in appointing those who were worthy of the ministry, and of the people they were to oversee. It is often said, that better men were chosen than the people now choose for themselves. It was an anomaly well ended, especially under the separating influences just stated.

So the gulf has widened through the closer union of the two countries, though, as this Memoir will endeavour to show, there have been conspicuous examples of Scots who, though educated in England, have been true to the land and the Church of their birth, and have won for themselves an imperishable place in the affections and respect of "their ain people."

CHAPTER II

ETON AND OXFORD

1849-1869

Omne Solum fort patria

ALEXANDER HUGH BRUCE was born at Kennet, Clackmannanshire, on January 13, 1849. The event was to have taken place in Edinburgh, and the baby's layette had already been sent there. Mrs. Bruce used laughingly to say that the baby's clothes cost a year's honorarium of his father as Chairman of the Scottish Central Railway, as it was then called.

Mr. Bruce's mother was Hugh Blackburn, an unusual name for a woman. A lady of a strong, decided character, she was left a widow with a large family to bring up. She had three sons in one year. When her daughter-in-law took the baby to see her in Edinburgh, her feelings were somewhat injured when his grandmother called him "a deil's buckie," the unfortunate child having cried at the interview, and no doubt he made a lusty noise.

When he was about seven years old, his picture with his sister was painted at Kennet. The boy was posed as leading the pony on which his sister was seated. This was not a characteristic attitude throughout his life, and it had the immediate disadvantage of making him stand in an attitude which he disliked, and which, he complained, caused him pain.

With unusual wisdom, his mother hurriedly took



BROTHER GIVES SISTER A RIDE ON DONALD, 1856.

him to Edinburgh, where she consulted a surgeon as to his condition.

The surgeon found that his growth, which had been unusually rapid, had affected one of his legs, and that he must at once be placed flat on his back. A small sofa remains at Kennet, on which he lay for about a year. Tradition says that he used to fire with a small rifle out of the window at the rabbits which came within range.

He was not allowed to ride, but otherwise no trace of this temporary lameness remained, nor did it stunt his growth which continued very rapid. He was six foot when in his teens, and ultimately measured six foot four inches in his stocking soles.

When he was eight, he was sent to Loretto School, near Edinburgh. It was then under famous management, Dr. Almond and Dr. Langham. "He showed me in later years," writes Lady Balfour of Burleigh (from whose notes on his early life this chapter is compiled), "the place in the school wall where he and kindred-minded schoolfellows used to climb over, when the tuck shop was in request." Few anecdotes remain of his school time. In after life he was a devoted and ardent gardener, and one of his poignant memories was how he had planted in the garden allotted to him at Loretto some specially choice geraniums, which some mischievous schoolfellow, seeing, had transplanted upside down.

From Loretto, he went to Eton, to which he looked back as to so much lost time.

He does not seem to have assimilated either the good or the bad of that school. He made no great friendships; it affected his character not at all. He enjoyed his life there, and always spoke of Eton with detached admiration. The kind of work did not interest him, and he took no trouble to study the

good there may have been in it. It left him untouched. He was not of it, nor were its traditions of any interest to him. The fault probably was not in Eton, but lay with the individual boy, placed in alien conditions.

In August 1864, while he was still at Eton, his father died. His uncle, Hugh Bruce, a lawyer, was unmarried. William Bruce, the next uncle who had married Miss Hull, had several sons. During the thirty years of Mr. Bruce's life with his first wife, they seemed his probable heirs. Mr. Bruce's second marriage to Jane Hamilton, daughter of Sir James Fergusson, Bart., of Kilkerran, Ayrshire, had resulted in the birth of the boy Alexander, and one sister, already mentioned.

Some account of the lands of Kennet and the family of Bruce must be given. The most conspicuous was Robert Balfour, fifth Lord Balfour of Burleigh, a Jacobite, in which he followed the tradition of all his race. When he was a youth, he fell in love with a young woman who had no pretensions to any rank. This annoyed the family, and to get rid of him, and in the hope that he would forget the episode and his attachment, he was sent abroad. Unwillingly he went, but before starting he declared to the lady on whom he had set his affections that, if she in his absence should marry, he would kill her husband.

Notwithstanding the threat, she did marry Henry Stenton, a schoolmaster at Inverkeithing. She honourably acquainted him beforehand of the hazard, a risk he undertook without counting the cost. On the return of Balfour, his first inquiry was after the girl. He was informed of her marriage to the schoolmaster. He proceeded with his attendants on horseback direct to the school at Inverkeithing. He called the schoolmaster out and deliberately shot

him, wounding him in the shoulder. He then quietly returned to Burleigh. This happened on April 9, 1707. The schoolmaster lingered twelve days and then died. Balfour was tried for the murder in the High Court of Justiciary in August 1709. The defence was "ingenious but inadequate"; anyway the tradition that the jury were "Whigs," and therefore did what fifteen "honest" men could hardly help doing, they brought him in as guilty of the murder. Balfour was sentenced to be beheaded, and was confined in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh. A few days before the date of execution he escaped from the prison, by exchanging clothes with his sister, who resembled him in appearance.

Margaret Balfour seems to have been a woman of some force of character. She appears to have taken stock of her own character, and found that she did not possess "those qualities which would make a man happy." She remained single all her life, and died at the age of eighty-four in the Canongate of Edinburgh. In the course of some excavations her coffin-plate was turned up and given to the family. The late Lord Balfour of Burleigh, after having a rubbing taken of it, caused it to be reinterred near the spot where it had been found.

Balfour did not leave the country, he remained in the neighbourhood of Burleigh, and a great ash tree, hollow in the trunk, was long shown as his place of concealment.

His next public appearance was at the meeting of Jacobites at Lochmaben in 1714, when the Pretender's health was drunk at the cross on their knees, Balfour denouncing damnation against all who would not drink it.

He engaged in the Rebellion of 1715. For this he was attainted by Act of Parliament, and his

estates were forfeited to the Crown. He died abroad, unmarried.

His sister Margaret again appears in the family history. She bought back the Balfour of Burleigh Loch Leven estate, but on her death the land was sold to Sir G. Montgomery. The ruins of Burleigh Castle still stand close to Loch Leven.

Chief among the family heirlooms is "the ciborium and cover of copper-gilt." It is most elaborately enamelled, with scenes from the Bible. It is said to be "one of the finest existing examples of the *champlevé* process as practised by the enamellers of the twelfth century."

The ciborium has been traditionally regarded as having belonged to Malcolm Canmore, King of Scotland, 1056-1092, and it is stated to have been presented by Mary, Queen of Scots, to her faithful adherent, Sir James Balfour of Burleigh, from whom it has descended to the present family by the marriage of Alexander Bruce of Kennet in 1714 with Mary Balfour, daughter of Robert, fourth Lord Balfour, and ultimately heiress of her brother Robert, fifth Lord.

There is also a hand-bell of silver-gilt belonging to Queen Mary, traditionally regarded as having been given by Mary to her faithful partisan, Sir James Balfour, deputy governor of Edinburgh Castle under the Earl of Bothwell.

The children of William Bruce had all died young. When the last died, the Bruces of Kennet were again reduced to three—the Laird of Kennet, his brother, and the future Lord Balfour of Burleigh.

Mr. Bruce had instituted proceedings to recover the title and dignity of Baron Balfour of Burleigh, attainted in 1716 in the person of Robert, fifth Lord.

The estate passed to his nephew Robert Bruce of Kennet, Alloa, a Judge of the Court of Session, through which it passed to Mr. Bruce who instituted proceedings in the House of Lords to the title and dignity of Baron Balfour of Burleigh, lost in the attainder of 1716. In 1868 the House of Lords gave judgment declaring that the claim had been made out to the Barony.

The petition was granted by Queen Victoria, in March 19, 1869.

The lands of Kennet, though not extensive, had thus an ancient origin, and at one time were in the possession of the good King Robert Bruce.

Mr. Bruce who had begun the proceedings which ended in the attainder being reversed, did not live to take the title. In early life he entered the army, and joined the Grenadier regiment of foot guards. As an ensign he served in the Peninsular War. He was promoted to the rank of Captain, and served at Waterloo, where he was wounded.

It was thought that Lord Balfour might work better under private tuition than he had done at Eton. The result was not very manifest. Lady Balfour of Burleigh says, "When after our marriage we moved about and visited, very often I was shown some point of view, or some fine church. When I asked, 'What do you know about this?' the answer came, 'Oh, I used to know it when I was at a private tutor's.'"

Much laughter followed when I was told that those tutors had each changed their habitat once, if not oftener, during his sojourn, which I attributed to his having got them into trouble, and that they had failed to impart any instruction to the young Scot under their tuition. Lady Balfour notes : "One winter we were at a shooting party at the Lilfords'.

He was tremendously keen that I should go to Titmarsh close by, and see the fine Church and the Rectory where he lived. We had a deeply interesting time. The then Rector, the Rev. Luckock, showed me the room where Balfour had held classes for boys on week-nights, and Sundays."

"Oxford," writes Lady Balfour of Burleigh, "was, I think, the centre of his youth. He was devoted to it, and there he found himself completely happy in his surroundings. Not that he worked there or made any use of its learning. He did not there, any more than at Eton, feel either the necessity, or the duty of using his talents, nor of bringing out that latent capacity for industry which was in him." There are some who are never touched by the scholastic side of life, but who wait, often unconsciously, till what interests them in the practical side of men's affairs comes under their ken.

He was a very keen oar, rowing in his college boat, and used to recall with pride when Oriel had bumped, on the river. At Eton he had played a great deal of cricket, and at his private tutor's had played in county matches.

When in after years he was given an honorary degree at Oxford he was much amused because a man who had been his scout helped him on with his robes, and said, "Oh, my Lord, I never expected such a thing for you!"

A few of his letters at Oxford are preserved by a cousin, the Hon. Mrs. T. H. W. Pelham, who at this time had much of his intimate intercourse. In September 1871, when he was reading for his examination in the long vacation, he says he will "write her a sufficiently long letter; it will help to drive away the feeling of loneliness, which is apt to come in the evenings." In an undated letter from Oriel he says,

"I am still determined to face the examiners though I am afraid that my work will be anything but well prepared. Still, they tell me Fortune favours the brave. I hope it will prove true in this case."

There is another letter which records an event which profoundly affected his future life, and early bound him to the service of the Presbyterian Church, as established in Scotland.

There are those who neither understand nor appreciate the office of the Eldership within the body of the Church.

Bruce's father had taken a notable part in the Disruption controversy, and had been a leading as well as a ruling Elder. Young as he was to be chosen to fill this office, he knew what it implied, and as he entered into "fellowship" with his Presbytery, it proved to be a fellowship with the whole Church militant. Nor did he weary in the fight that was before him. His heart lay with the interests of the Church, and he was ever ready to defend her with the eloquence born of a great love, with the pen, and when the occasion needed it, he struck many a lusty blow in her defence.

Kennel, March 29, Evening.

"I am sure you will not have forgotten what it was that brought me to Scotland, so as to be in Church here, to-day. We had service as usual at 12. Mr. Walker from Edinburgh preached, and after the sermon all the elders elect advanced to the seat under the pulpit, where the formal questions were put to us; then Mr. Gilchrist engaged in prayer, specially for us, then exhorted us on our duties, and then the people on theirs towards the elders. He then descended from the pulpit and shook hands with each of us, and the old members of kirk session did the

same, and it was all done. The people were very attentive, and altogether it was a scene, not to be soon forgotten, and what added more to the solemnity, was that Mr. Gilchrist is about to leave for Harrogate for three months and took a kind of leave of the congregation. He seems almost to think he will never take an active part amongst the people again, and indeed he does look miserably ill.

The more I think of it, the more I feel the impertinence of any one so young as I am venturing to take such an office, but Mr. Blackwood to whom I spoke last week before leaving London, encouraged me much, and spoke altogether very kindly to me about it.

I try to regard it as a comfort as well as a responsibility. 'In the Lord have I righteousness and strength,' is a verse much brought to my mind."

The next letter concerned the removal of the Attainder on the Title. It had been a process begun by his father, and the law's delays "had kept it a ganging plea," till the elder Bruce had died.

It is vain to speculate on what place he would have filled had he been of those who were able to seek election to the House of Commons. Certain it is that his aptitude for political life might have been yet earlier developed, or he might have become "a Scotch member," a name significant of many a tedious Parliamentary bore. The lines were cast for him in the House of Lords and he entered on his disinherited birthright, as young, as he became part of the Presbyterian Church organisation.

Oriel, Feb. 27, 1869.

"The Bill to reverse the Attainder has been introduced into the Upper House, and will be read a



A. H. BRUCE AT OXFORD.

second time on Tuesday, I believe, so that is so far satisfactory."

One last word from Oriel and his Oxford life :—

"Much to my mother's disgust I have resolved to stay in England, or rather at Oxford, during the Easter Vac. to make up for lost time. The exam. is to begin on the 21st of May so I have some time before me still, but none to be lost I am sure.

ALEXANDER BRUCE."

He took second honours in Law and History.

Mrs. Pelham writes some notes of his life after Oxford when he was in London. "He constantly came to my mother's house, and spent part of every Sunday with us, attending St. Jude's Church when Dr. Forrest (afterwards Dean of Worcester) was the Vicar. Even during the fullest part of B.'s life he never missed going to Church once on a Sunday.

I do not know exactly when B. began to take an interest in public affairs, but he read a great many papers and took every opportunity of being informed, notably of course in Scottish affairs. He may have met Mr. Edward Horseman at my mother's house, as he was an old friend of hers.

When Lord Beaconsfield asked him how he liked his work, he said unfortunately he was one of those 'too good for hell, and not good enough for heaven.'

When B. became one of Scotland's sixteen Peers in the Lords, he threw himself heart and soul into politics. As a young man, he greatly enjoyed society and was very popular with London hostesses, possibly because having made an engagement he never broke it, unless obliged to do so.

Lady Salisbury once teased him about dancing, saying she never thought that an Elder of the Church of Scotland would dance !

There is no doubt that the loss of his father when he was so young, was a great miss in his life. The responsibilities which he had inherited, weighed heavily on him. He was often depressed and inclined to make too much of small troubles. His sense of duty was very high, and he was a most excellent son."

The notes end with some of Lord Balfour's characteristics :—

Loyalty to people and causes.

Willingness to take any amount of trouble to help either.

Constancy in friendship.

A great capacity for taking pains, rather than great ability.

Last but not least in this goodly list—

" He answered every letter by return of post."

When the long legal process of restoring the attainted Peerage was over, Lord Balfour came to London, and went out a great deal in society. He was a very fine specimen of a man, good-looking, and he soon became very popular. He seems to have attracted a good deal of notice, as there was probably something distinctive about him in early life, as there was in his later career. He held his own way, and kept his thoughts to himself. His English education made him acquainted with the men of his day and generation, and he took the best society had to give him, not troubling himself much about the future but enjoying the present, with a touch of Scottish reserve, which made him almost instinctively follow the ways of his country, and the manner of his

upbringing. When he was asked lightly by some English companion in later life, why he did not play golf on a Sunday, his answer was characteristic of his whole life. "Because, I do not wish to turn my back upon my past."

It was a past sealed up with a love of his country and its ways—bound in with every memory of home, with every thought of religion and pious practice. Not to be argued about, or explained away, not to be critical of others, simply he did not wish to part from "his past." It was that early training and upbringing that was to bear fruit much later in his life, and to make the genial, boyishly impetuous youth mature into the man, the characteristic Scot, known and read of all men—"as typical."

During this period of his youth he met and was introduced by a mutual friend, to Mrs. Gladstone. Without any previous small talk Mrs. Gladstone instantly asked him, "What is your favourite newspaper?" Without a pause and with equal assurance, Lord Balfour answered "*Punch*."

History throws no further light on what followed the announcement.

Speaking, at Alloa in 1889, Lord Balfour said that he had endeavoured to make other engagements as far as possible subordinate to the duty of being present on the ice.

There spoke the man of true business, and he was a Prince among Curlers. It suited him as a game, and no account of his activities would be in any sense complete, or recall the man to the memory of those who knew him, that did not describe him on the ice, or left out an account of him as "the best shot in Scotland," on the moors, and in the coverts of both countries.

As a golfer, he has pronounced his own sentence—

"The worst on record," and nothing further need be said. Not every Scot is to the manner born. Curling was entirely congenial. Throughout his whole career, this winter sport, so intensely Scottish, filled a great part of what may be called his lighter moments.

He was a passionate devotee of the roaring game. The illustrated papers of the period teemed with excellent woodcuts "of the Lord of Kennet," in knickerbockers and cap, skipping his rink. "Put it just here," is the title of one life-like drawing, and woe betide the man, who dared to put it anywhere but "just here."

He was a master of the game, and he played it with his whole being. As one reads the records, the scene lives again. The frosts which of old "held" with no sign of a break, the keen air, the dark waters, ice-bound and still, the familiar landscape, the shouts of the players, and above all the roar of the hurtling "stones," the excited voices of the players, conspicuous amongst them the thunderous notes of the skip. Then, the rejoicing over the battle won, the good fellowship, and the meeting of every kind of friendship. The early gloaming, and the wending the way home to the waiting work, the warm fireside, and the hope that on the morrow the frost would be as hard as to-day.

He took the game in a serious spirit, which, he said, resembled the game of life. "Openings for every one both in life, and on the ice." Then, detailing the curler who had curious twists and turns, he said that on the whole, the man who was most reliable on ice, or in life, was the man who, playing straight, hit the mark. At many a curler's supper he supported the great game. At the Clackmannan and Kennet Club, Provost Grant said that they ought to be proud in having his Lord-



Photo A. Brown, [Lanark]

CURLING CARSEBRUCK, 1898

ship at their head, there was no keener curler, and no better curler than Lord Balfour, and while he did not like a beating, he liked to give his opponents a proper one.

B. of B. took note of this, for it evidently pricked his conscience. He was too keen a player at any sport to take any beating "lying down." In his answer to the Provost, he sums up his philosophy. After recounting all the mighty deeds done by the Club he went on, "I yield to no one in my admiration of the game of curling. It brings out all the best qualities in a man. The Provost remarked, rather cynically, that I do not like to be beaten. It is true that I do not like to be beaten—but I would like to ask Provost Grant how he likes to be beaten?"

"A great deal of enjoyment can be got out of the game whether you win or lose. I do not think a man is half a curler when he does not feel sorry that he is beaten. The man who appears unconcerned, aggravates me. I like to see a man busy from the time he goes on the ice until he comes off it; to be ready to sweep when he is told to sweep, and to cease sweeping when he is told—a virtue some would require to cultivate! Curling is certainly a prince among games. There is in it a combination of at least four things. You require a certain amount of physical strength, not so much that almost any of us need fear to take part in a game. You also require a certain amount of skill, a quality in which you may improve yourself until the last day you are on the ice. While you require a certain amount of skill and strength, there is also a certain amount of chance in the game—a good fluke off an opponent's stone for instance. Certainly, if there was not an element of chance it would not be nearly as good a game as it is.

"Last, but not least, one of the great character-

istics of the game is the thoroughly good fellowship it promotes among all classes. There is no game that I know of that presents this characteristic in such a marked degree, and one more characteristic is that it is a thoroughly national Scottish game.

"They are taking away golf to England, and are spoiling it, but they have not got to spoiling curling yet. I hope it will be a long time before it is anything else than a thoroughly national Scottish game."

He had his appropriate story ready of the minister who contrived on his way to the pulpit, to get the information from the beadle, as to the prospects of "the ice holding." The better preacher no doubt, in that he was a keen curler. "They were keen curlers in the olden days and we were not far behind."

He was asked to write the article on Curling in Badminton, and his enthusiastic love of the great game of winter will be found enshrined in its pages.

The International Bonspiel held at Carsebreck in January 1897, was a great event. There were over two thousand players from all parts of the country, and the clubs north and south of the Forth were in competition. There were 246 rinks, the largest number ever seen at one time in Scotland. The Secretary for Scotland found or made time to skip a rink. The Blair Athole curlers appeared in tartan trousers and vests; they were conspicuous and were well beaten, for the men of the south won for the seventh year in succession. The first Bonspiel was held in 1847 and there were only 12 rinks on that day.

There is a carefully drawn woodcut of B. of B., demanding, "Now, just draw up *here*," and another of him "sending a beauty."

Long will his presence and his cheery commanding voice linger in the memories of those who played the

game with him. B. of B. never left behind him "the boy," with all his virtues and all his faults. He did not like to be beaten. Who does? As he asks so truly—no one who understands how to "Play up, play up and play the game."

Shooting was B. of B.'s only other recreation, and he was an exceptionally good shot and in great request at shooting parties, notably in Scotland. If he had not done it well, he would not have taken the pleasure that he did in it. B. of B. did not enjoy anything that he did badly, and though he was not a jealous shot, he liked to have a position in which he could manifest his prowess. His life permitted little relaxation in air and scenery that he knew and loved. His performances at driven game were known and recorded, but he was happiest when he secured a hardly won day, and shot over his own lands, with his two sons as his companions. Lady Balfour writes of the November covert shoots. "He shot for the two first days, and went to London for Thursday's Cabinet. Left London on Thursday night and arrived in time to go forth on Friday morning, for the ending day of the shoot."

There was always a gallery watching the guns. He was never put out or fussed by people watching. Once when he was shooting at Mr. Graham Murray's place in Perthshire a man told me that he overheard a native who was watching say to his neighbour, "there's no mony birds gae past yon muckle man in the broon clothes."

B. of B. would use the word "butchering" with regard to some of the many big shoots to which he was annually asked.

He hated the slaughter of thousands of rabbits and the slaying of grouse or of tamely driven-over pheasants. But, give him some outrageously long

shots, or some birds flying down wind at a phenomenal height, and watch him drop them absolutely stone dead, so that not even a feather moved after they fell, and you would understand the thrill which was felt even by lookers on.

A shooting incident was a feat of which he was very proud. On one occasion he was shooting over a young oak and birch plantation, when the cover was about four feet high. He was standing at the end of the cover, which was being driven to him by the beaters. He saw at the end of the cover, four woodcocks on the wing simultaneously, before he fired at the first, and he succeeded in bagging the four, killing right and left twice, changing guns. He was pleased at having taken the widest out bird first, which alone made it possible. It was, indeed, no mean feat.

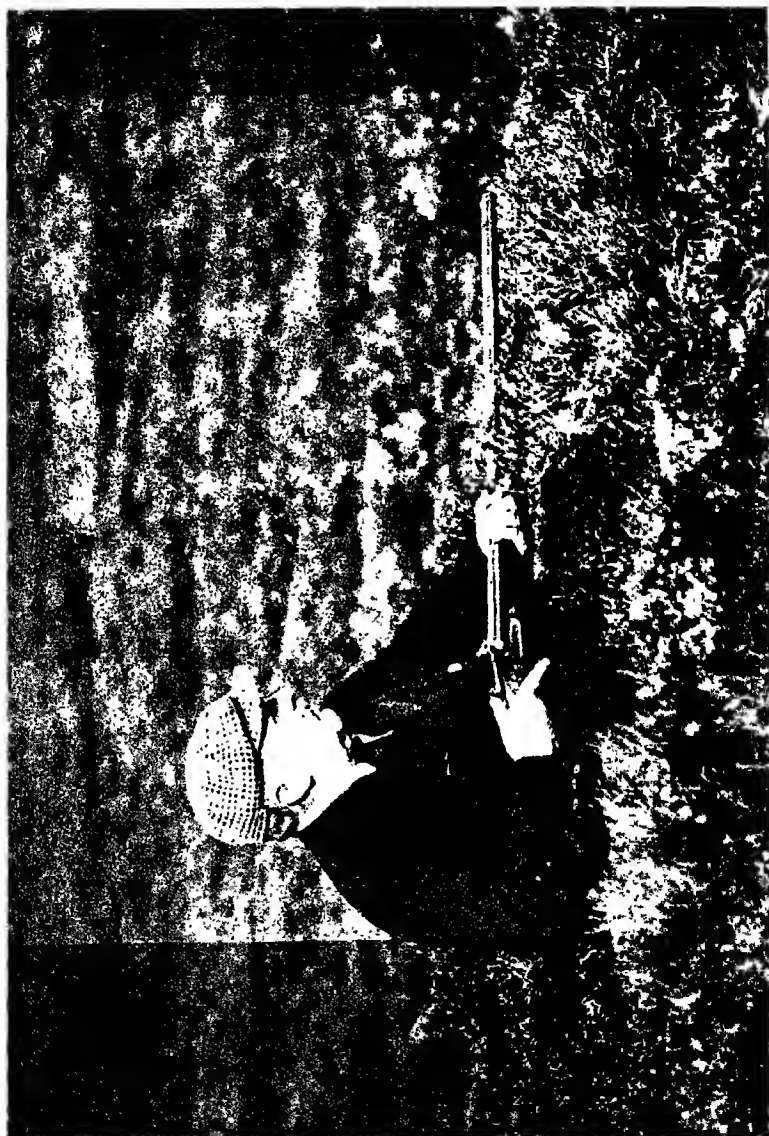
This was much the case with grouse driving and with grouse shooting over dogs, which was his delight and which entailed long days of walking.

Stalking he did a great deal of, in his earlier days in many places.

In later years how he loved to go out alone, or with the two boys, after partridges at Kennet. Nothing gave him, or them, so much enjoyment. I don't mean that he did not always enjoy a rough day's shoot more than any amount of covert shooting, and he went on shooting until his knees began to fail from rheumatism, and it was a great grief to him not to be able to do the same long day's walking which he had done, though he never groused about the loss.

The Mackintosh of Mackintosh writes :—

As an old friend of forty-five years at the time of his death, I have been asked to write a few lines about Lord Balfour of Burleigh as a sportsman.



His motto in life was "thoroughness" both in his public duties and in his sport. Two sports he was devoted to, "shooting" and "curling," and it is with the former that I now deal. There was no better man "behind the gun," and with him in a shooting party there was the certainty that whatever game was being dealt with, he was equally good. He loved and appreciated "a good day," and no weather conditions deterred him from sallying forth and holding his own among the best shots of his time. He appreciated to the full the art of "showing game" and the care of it. He was in consequence immensely popular with keepers and their staffs, and never forgot a face and kindly greeted old friends amongst them. On one occasion, for instance, one recalls an incident such as this. When Secretary of State for Scotland he was instrumental in passing an Act for the Preservation of Wild Birds, and in consequence such birds as eagles, peregrines, etc., were included. At a grouse "drive," however, immediately after the passing of the Act, a peregrine in pursuit of a grouse crossed over the drive and was immediately shot by one of the guns, who was quite forgetful of the Act. When the beaters came up after the "drive," "B. of B.," as he was affectionately known, was holding the dead falcon in his hand and admiring it. His host happened to remark to a very old "watcher," "Donald, there's an enemy of yours gone." The answer came immediately, "Yes, it's worth a good many coveys of grouse to you, but it's better lying where it is (in Lord B. of B.'s hand) for all the laws of Scotland. Come on, dog!" No one laughed more heartily than Balfour at this truly Highland "dry humorist's" remark.

He was about the best man I ever knew to "fill a bag," as he never "picked his shots," high or low;

if he was told to shoot, he did so whole-heartedly, and to the day of his death he was always "in it." In his time he was equally good with the rifle and took heavy toll of the deer.

Curling specially appealed to him, and at the "roaring game" he was a recognised "practitioner" of the highest class, and known as such wherever curlers met. The discipline and ordering of a "rink" suited his temperament, and his giant strength, good eye and determination made him as formidable an antagonist to a "skip" as there was to be found on any ice.

Too heavy for riding to hounds, he realised how much hunting had done for the making of men and women, and was always sympathetic to this, the greatest of all sports.

Racing he never cared for, though he knew how much this sport had done in making our horses the best in the world.

Scotland never produced a more typical Scot.

In society his many stories of Scottish life and character were inimitable, and ever appreciated.

Peace be to his ashes, a truer friend never existed, and when he went, high and low felt that a great and good man had passed away from their midst.

A. MACKINTOSH OF MACKINTOSH.

Moy Hall,

3rd November, 1924.

He paid the penalty of having shooter's deafness. Conversationally, one could find oneself very much on the wrong side of him, if he wanted to hear, and could not do so.

CHAPTER III

THE CHURCH WITHIN THE STATE

1876-1882

"Nec tamen consumebatur."

IN 1876 Lord Balfour of Burleigh married Lady Katherine Gordon, the granddaughter of the Prime Minister, the fourth Earl of Aberdeen, and sister to the present Marquis of Aberdeen. It was a marriage which promised much happiness to both families. The promise was fulfilled with more than life often has to give. Henceforth, Lord Balfour's affections were anchored in his home, and he found in it the helpmate who was to encourage him in all his ways and works. It was a union of heart and soul, and the happiness that they found in each other was no selfish pleasure. It radiated from his home, and made one with him his county, and his household, filled as it always was with ancient retainers, and the service that never grows old or weary, and which no fine gold can purchase.

Great were the rejoicings, not only in London where the marriage took place, but through a wide portion of his home county. Lady Balfour belonged to the Church of England, and the marriage tie was blessed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Tait, the first of the three Scottish Archbishops.

His wife, when in Scotland, worshipped with Lord Balfour in his Parish Church. Mrs. Bruce had "gone out" with the Disruption, and there were those who remembered the boy after his father's death sitting alone in the big family "loft," dressed in the deep

mourning then prescribed, learning the lessons that sectarian divisions brought home to many a household "divided against itself." He was early elected as a representative Peer of Scotland.

Through this way he entered into politics. There never seems to have been any doubt in his mind, as to which Party in the State he would adopt. Liberalism meant much that was against the natural bent of his mind, and at that time it was in league with the forces that would disestablish both Churches. At the University Conservative Club in 1878 he said that the strength of Conservatism had doubled in Scotland. "I, for one, would not be afraid of the result were an election to take place immediately in every constituency throughout Scotland, county and burgh alike." He then alluded to the eloquence of Mr. Gladstone which was then gilding politics with a lustre, and as Conservatives thought with an ensnaring magic. There were some sentences, and expressions used on that occasion with regard to the Church of Scotland. "I have never been able to make out exactly what was intended by them. Those sentences and expressions are liable to two interpretations—they may be interpreted either as an attempt to stave off, or as an attempt to bring on, an agitation for the disestablishment of the Church of Scotland, and I would ask whether that is the way in which a question of that kind should be treated?"

But Church defence at that time had also to be carried on in the Courts of the Church. At the Synod of Perth and Stirling, he was again on the track of the destroyer.

"If there is a question of principle, surely that of the connection between Church and State is one, and I would ask whether it is credible that it should be

treated as a matter of party expediency, whether an agitation shall be conducted against the Church of Scotland or not.

“Is an ancient Institution doing good work to be attacked simply on the ground of party expediency, and at the caprice of the most intolerant individual in a party?”

The members of the Synod must have noted that a champion of the Church's rights had been raised up in their midst.

It was not the first time he had been heard in the Synod. In 1875 a matter of some local importance had arisen. He had boldly opposed “the cave.” It was from a congregation which desired to be received in full and legal connection with the Church of Scotland. Mr. Bruce, as he then was, said “that some of the members of the Synod would think that he was too young to take so prominent a part, but he had had some little experience of the business of Church Courts, and he contended that it was beyond the power of the Presbytery to grant the petition.”

Here, in early life, we see the confidence and sureness of Balfour's outlook. Once he had weighed the evidence, and made up his mind on the principle at stake, he always spoke with extreme confidence—and as some may have thought, over-confidence in his own judgment. This sentence, or its purport, occurred often through his life: “I have had some little experience.” It was not so much confidence in himself, and it was not “cocksureness.” It was the values of his own mind, that he was watching and weighing. Rarely was he an eloquent speaker, but he gave an impression that he had thought out the issue, and that what he was pronouncing was the conviction of himself. He had a considerable power of ranging his arguments. He spoke without passion, and was

obviously devoid of temporary prejudices. The winds and waves of party currents did not affect him. Mr. Gladstone's sentences on the Church, he was "not sure if he understood." He never regarded the gilding of any pill, nor did any subterfuge delude him. He wanted to make out the meaning, and having made it out, he presented the unvarnished truth to his hearers. You might agree, or disagree, that did not concern him; his mind and action were made up.

When only twenty-six he had been made a member of the Commission of Inquiry on the Factory and Workshops Bill. There he made one of his earliest appearances in the House of Lords. As usual he stated the evidence that they had obtained, and where they had sat to hear it, in the various towns of the Black Country. They had received a great mass of evidence from men in favour of extending the restrictions to those young women engaged in the trades specified. They felt the women were competing with them, and they openly admitted that it was a wages question. The hours, they considered, were not excessive. The hours referred to for young persons, were between six in the morning and eight in the evening. The Bill said they must begin at six or seven in the morning, and end at the same hour in the evening. One hour and a half in the day for meals.

Lady Balfour reports to her mother, the Dowager Lady Aberdeen :—" I had the great gratification this afternoon of hearing my dear man make a really fluent and able speech in the House of Lords. He spoke with wonderful ease and quietness. Strange to say I had never heard him speak before, except the day when we arrived at Kennet. When Balfour stopped speaking Lord Beaconsfield turned to Lord Beauchamp and said that was a very good speech. Lord March told this to Balfour."

In this year he was also put on an Inquiry on the Endowed Institutions of Scotland.

In 1882 the Liberal Government appointed him Chairman of the Committee for Educational Endowments, which lasted for seven years. He was fast building up the reputation "for being one of the ablest business men of the day," and above all for being the champion and defender of the Church of Scotland, which his seat in the Lords enabled him to defend with his voice, and whose Court of Appeal was in no distant day to dispel the illusion that any Church can hold property independent of the State.

In the same year he spoke at the Railway Employees' Festival. Some of his Reminiscences makes one feel the march of events in railways. He gave an account of "the central Station," and Stirling in particular. He recalled the faces of his early friends, and "although not very old myself my memory is very good, especially for friends."

"There was, at Stirling, no accommodation for passengers save a wooden shed, with a gravel path in front, and a small garden with a railing, something like what one sees at Dunblane and other roadside stations. Upon this railing was a large board with the inscription familiar to us all, "Passengers are requested not to cross the railway without the sanction of the company's servants." His father had had many applicants for posts on the railway. Mr. Bruce was always politeness itself, and when a very young man presented himself, Mr. Bruce said he was always glad to have young men in the service, and what special line did he want? The applicant wished to be a porter. "How about your strength? Could you about term time put a lassie's kist on the top of a third class carriage?" The young man said he did not want to be that kind of porter, he wanted to be a

gentleman porter. 'I want to run up and down the platform and see the ladies and gentlemen to their carriages.' "

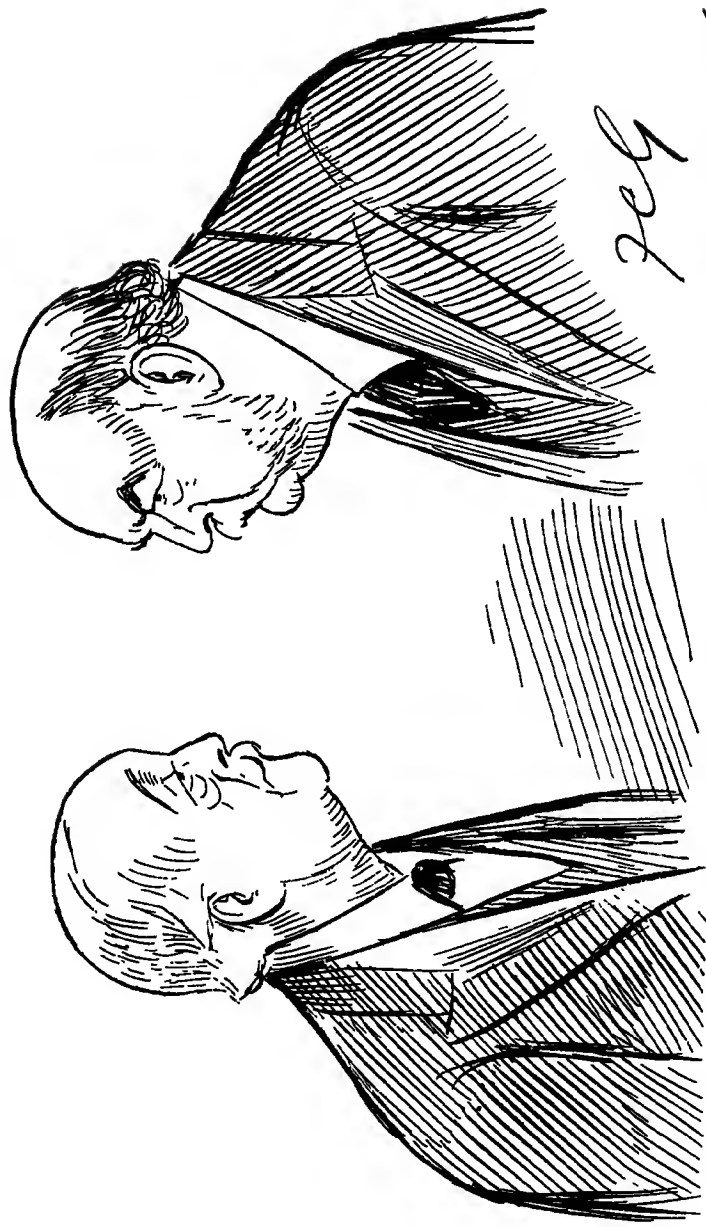
Another wished to live in one of the small houses on the line, and give the signal when the line was clear, at eighteen shillings a week. These tales, Lord Balfour averred, were strictly true and had happened to his father in his place on the railway management.

On September 25, 1880, the Master of Burleigh was born. It was a great event and a subject of wide and great rejoicing first in his home, and then amongst Lord Balfour's friends and neighbours.

It was 165 years since there had been a Master of Burleigh, and the title gave rise to much confused history, and many misstatements. Many were implicated in the false accusations which abounded, and Lord Balfour took the occasion of a dinner held in honour of the event, to put them right, for the time being. The confusion was, however, to crop up again and again in his career, especially in America where, however, the confusion was further complicated by his being mistaken for Mr. A. J. Balfour. When he landed in 1910 on those shores, the Press produced the portrait of the former Prime Minister, as Lord Balfour, and described him as a "strapping, red cheeked, grey haired Scotch laddie, six foot tall, and with the shoulders of an ursus."

On this occasion, it was his own minister at Kennet, in good company, for Archbishop Tait was under the same delusion, who fell into the snare, of confusing him with Balfour of Burly. He who executed with the sword, Archbishop Sharp. A cruel murder, but not more cruel than had been the traitorous crimes of the Archbishop against the Covenanters.

At the dinner given in honour of the young Master, the Rev. Mr. Robertson said, "The name of Burleigh



The Slim Balfour and the Burleigh Balfour

carried our thoughts back to rough old times, when Scotchmen who loved freedom of conscience were often obliged to withstand oppression by force. Deeds done in such circumstances must not be judged by a nineteenth-century standard. The spirit of staunch fortitude shown some two hundred years ago by the champions of our national Presbyterianism, and by none more notably than by a cadet of the House of Burleigh, have earned the admiration of every lover of liberty who reads Scottish history with reflection and common sense. The Bruces of Kennet have held an honourable place in the county since 1289."

After enumerating the services to king and country, which various members had performed, he came down to a different kind of remembrance than the murder of an Archbishop. "The Kennet family have done very much—in relieving the poor, in befriending the helpless, in sympathising with all, in taking an active and powerful part in furthering every good work, they have won a secure and warm place in the heart of this community."

Lord Balfour of Burleigh must have kept silence with difficulty, though doubtless his sense of humour came to his aid. He said that he must disclaim the credit or the blame as each one might choose to put it, of being the descendant of one who had taken the life of an Archbishop. That was a mistake into which many of his friends had fallen—no less a person than Archbishop Tait had made the same blunder. This Balfour of Burly referred to as having murdered an Archbishop was a Lanarkshire man, and he had got the name Burly, on account of his being a big man.

Lord Balfour was not to escape altogether from the mistake. He also was "Burly" in appearance, and during the Free Trade controversy he was called by

an irritated opponent, "a Burly Bully." Only those who were conversant with "Old Mortality" were aware that they were dealing with a Balfour whose name was not to be synonymous with the bitterest Church controversy ever waged in these Islands, but with one whose whole interests were bound up with "peace and felicity" within the borders of a united Church.

In the meantime he was working hard for the Schemes of the Church, and making himself known in many Presbyteries.

The Assembly, in 1881, had appointed him Convener of one of those Schemes with which his name will ever be associated—the Aged and Infirm Ministers' Fund. He saw in it a great opportunity of strengthening the active Church work, and doing justice to those who had given of their whole strength to the work of the ministry. He began by expounding its purpose and work to the Synod in Aberdeen, and he told them the reason why he came amongst them.

"Let it not be supposed that he undervalued the sentiments which prevailed in the minds of many men, and induced them to die, as it was called, in harness. But they could not be blind to the fact that that sentiment, laudable in itself, was, when carried too far, apt to result in the stoppage of the machine for too many years. Some central Fund should be established to which they could appeal to aid and second their own efforts. The Assembly wished to raise a capital sum of £100,000, the interest of which should, from time to time, be devoted to enabling a parish minister who felt unfit for his work, to retire.

This could only be done with the co-operation of Presbyteries as a whole. They must sink their private feelings and work together. The advice of

his parish minister, when he talked over the scheme with him, was, "If you go anywhere you must go to Aberdeen, because they will be sure to give you a hearty welcome, and they always manage their matters at the Synod in a thoroughly business and hearty fashion."

The Synod, no doubt, appreciated the judicious description of the Aberdonian hospitality, combined with a complete business outlook year by year, throughout the rest of Lord Balfour's life, chiefly in the Assembly when he gave in his Report, but also elsewhere when opportunity afforded, this Fund was urged on the duty and conscience of the Church at large. Its existence has removed a reproach from the Church. The smallness of the available money is ever a stimulus. It is an insurance both for ministers and people.

In 1899 when the clerical Tithes Bill was being hotly contested in Parliament by Liberal Dissenters, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman illustrated his opposition by taking his case from "an Established Church well known to the leader of the House (Mr. A. J. Balfour), the Church of Scotland. It is a poor Church, it does not include among its members the main part of the most exalted and the most wealthy of the community; it is a Church comprising the great mass of the trading, farming, and labouring people of Scotland—at least it has a share of all these three classes. It came home to the Church of Scotland a few years ago that a large number of its ministers were not in receipt of sufficient incomes to maintain their position. What did it do? It instituted a fund and it collected subscriptions, so that a certain minimum income might be established which everyone of the ministers was to receive, and that has been done by the free will effort and self-sacrifice of the people of

the Church. Here is an instance of an established Church which can take the right way in dealing with a difficulty of this sort."

"C.-B." was a Liberal first, a Scot, and a Presbyterian next, and he used the Church of Scotland as an illustration. The Scheme he alluded to was closely allied to that of the Aged and Infirm Ministers Fund, and had an equal claim on the Church. It was the endowment of the smaller livings, which enables ministers at least to live, if not to save, and quickened the material life of the Church. Two men were specially concerned with those schemes. His own brother, Mr. James Campbell of Stracathoe, and Lord Balfour of Burleigh. Both of them belonged to the Conservative party within the State.

In 1882 B. of B. took part in a Conference held at Stirling on Foreign Missions. It was not a meeting for Church Defence or Church Interests. It is significant of the wars without, and within the Church at that day, that Balfour was obliged to touch on them.

"I desire to keep off any subject which may create a difference of opinion. I do not think that, speaking to an assemblage of members of the Church of Scotland, I am wrong when I say that I very much doubt whether this period of the ecclesiastical history of Scotland in which we now are, will be looked back upon with any great feelings of satisfaction. This remark applies to all Churches. We must admit that they are one and all too much taken up with the miserable controversies that exist between us. It is against the happiness of Scotland, and against the glory of our Common Master."

He spoke then of a Union, which at that hour seemed among the things which were visionary. If we could confine ourselves more to looking each at our own faults, and less at the faults of one another, we should

be doing more for the glory of God, and our own honour.

He then dealt with the weakness to the Church of its divisions. Boston, of the "Fourfold State," was at one time a tutor in the House at Kennet. It is told in his biography, how being a very conscientious man, he desired to do his duty in the situation in which he found himself. Besides being tutor, he was to a certain extent domestic Chaplain.

Boston complains of his difficulty in getting on, how he was unpopular and how very intractable the people were with whom he had to deal. On one occasion he made up a list of the sins of the household and after family worship, he, to use his own words, "condescended upon them particularly." The application of this story was that there was not enough co-operation between the people and the Presbytery, and perhaps between the different congregations. "This confidence could only be induced by seeing more and more of each other face to face."

The pear tree in the orchard at Kennet where Boston condescended upon the particular sins of the household, is still known and pointed out.

Lord Balfour proceeded that it had fallen to his lot, some sixteen years ago, to plead the cause of Foreign Missions in an out-of-the-way parish in Perthshire. The weather was very inclement, the district thinly populated. They found the Church crowded by an eager and expectant audience. There was good music, accompanied by a good harmonium. "Perhaps more music than we thought necessary for the purposes of the meeting. However, we made eloquent speeches and as we departed, guided down the road by the old beadle, we were so well pleased with our part, we complimented the beadle on the large audience. He pulled himself up and said, 'Aye, Sir! nae doot there was a

great crood, but ye maunna think that they cam' to hear your long speeches about thae Schemes, thae cam' to hear the new harmonium an' the band.' "

It is not without interest to Churchmen to note how, at this meeting, it was stated that under this system then advocated, the Church was raising £13,000 a year. We need, it was then said, £15,000. The Free Church was giving £29,000 and the U.P. Church £25,000. Yet both together do not number the strength of the old Church of Scotland. And the other Churches were recommended for their system.

It was the political war cry of Sir Robert Peel, "Register, Register, Register." Cobden cried, "Agitate, Agitate, Agitate," and Cobden carried his object. I say "Systematise."

Later in the same year, he was opening a Church Bazaar, and said that he had been much struck the other day with a remark Lord Derby had made—"that an organised party against a party that was not organised was very much like a disciplined force against a mob." The enemies of the Church were disciplined; let them take care lest the fate of the undisciplined overtook them.

Lord Balfour took no light view of the political forces against them at that time. He knew that the first thing was to strengthen the usefulness and work of the Church. In lending his aid to her Schemes, he had in view also her Defence. It would not be his fault if the watchword, Systematise, did not serve a good purpose when the Liberal mob, trumpeting Dis-establishment, rushed to the onset. Not before them were the walls of Jericho to fall.

CHAPTER IV

THE LIBERAL PARTY AND DISESTABLISHMENT

"My father reared us in connection with the Kirk of Scotland—an Establishment which has been an incalculable blessing to that country."
—DAVID LIVINGSTONE.

SOME account must be given of Lord Balfour's work for the Church of Scotland during these years. The Church Defence was carried on by a committee constituted by the General Assembly. It again was ably buttressed by the work inside the Conservative Association. Scotland was in those years completely under the influence of Mr. Gladstone, and the Liberal party as led by him. The English Conservatives only cared for the Established Church in Scotland in as far as its preservation served the Conservative policy. The Conservative party in Scotland were few, and the lay leaders of that party were mostly Anglican in their sympathies. The leadership therefore fell largely to Lord Balfour, and on the ministers of the Established Church. They were, at that time, a singularly able set of men. They knew their subject, and knew what they were fighting for, and by degrees the people awoke to the sense of the danger that was approaching the "Auld Kirk," through the Liberal party and through the Disestablishing party allied to the Liberal party.

Mr. Gladstone had always been a Scottish Episcopalian at heart. The Radical element in the dissenting bodies in Scotland appealed to his political instincts. It is wonderful how far a political leader will go in pursuit of a strong party to back his

attack. Principal Rainey was related to Mr. Gladstone, and like him in appearance, and in ecclesiastical ways. Their approaches were devious, and they needed to be met with the most outspoken exposure of their attack on the Church of the nation.

Lord Hartington was a Whig, much after the type of Lord Melbourne. He was in no sense a Churchman, and was quite incapable of understanding ecclesiastical finesse. Had he been placed where Lord Melbourne and the English statesmen of 1843 stood, he would have acted in like manner. He neither knew Scotland nor its Church. He knew it held no grouse moors as good as England, nor had it a first-class race-course, and he had only a sporting acquaintance with it. To him, as to Lord Melbourne, the Church was an incomprehensible, troublesome asset in the midst of Scotland, and he was surprised when making a campaign, as a Liberal leader, to hear that he must deal with it in one of his speeches. He went to Scotland as to a foreign land, and made an oration, not in any way oratorical, but it proved a trumpet sound both to the Disestablishers and the Defenders of the Church.

Lord Beaconsfield was Prime Minister, and the Liberals were gathering their forces for the general election of 1876. Lord Hartington, primed by the Liberationist Liberals, said that "Disestablishment in Scotland was a question to be decided according to the wishes of the Scottish people." After that it became the object of the Liberal party in league with the Liberationists to show that the people of Scotland desired the overthrow of what had formed one of the first articles of the Act of Union.

They were words of little import as they sounded, but they threw the whole weight of the Church

against the Liberal party and drove a broad wedge into it, for there were politicians in the Liberal camp who had by no means reckoned on the Church of Scotland being attacked and dragged into the arena of party warfare. Notable among these Scotsmen was Mr. R. B. Finlay, then a devoted follower of Gladstone, but alienated from him and his policy of Disestablishment.

Speaking at Kilmarnock in 1885, in Church Defence, Lord Balfour set out the position. He recalled the visit of Lord Hartington some ten years before. After that visit their opponents tried to go to the country. They tried to have meetings here and there, but these were a dismal failure. They found that they could make no progress, and so they had turned from the policy of having public meetings to what he must characterise as a policy of intrigue.

Mr. Chamberlain had also descended from Birmingham, and had pronounced himself in favour of Disestablishment "in the abstract." Mr. Chamberlain knew a good deal about Liberal organisation, and the necessity of a united party, if he knew nothing about Churches. So he had advised that it should not be thrust forward at present. Again, Mr. Gladstone had written several letters on Disestablishment. Here he covered himself by the words, "I have neither shared in nor assented to any attack on the Church."

All these words "marked an ambiguity" which characterised the leaders of the party on no other question of equal importance.

He thought the Church of Scotland was entitled to know more of what was in their minds. "They were bound to make up their own minds before asking the people to declare theirs."

Lord Balfour summed up the forces opposed to

the Church. "Religious Equality" was the watchword of the Liberationists. A word he thought very difficult to define. Was it the Roman Catholics or Episcopalians who were demanding Religious Equality? "No, it was those unfortunately who were nearest the Church of Scotland in doctrine and in forms of Church government."

An election was pending at Kilmarnock; it was being made the cockpit of the Disestablishment fight. "It was not too much to say that the whole Church of Scotland was looking to Kilmarnock to be in the forefront of the engagement, and that was an honourable position. He appealed to the electors before him not to be afraid to do their part in that engagement."

B. of B. must have felt in great straits for he even remembered "the ladies in the back benches, though they could not appear at the poll, they could find other ways of making their influence felt, and he appealed to them to do all they could before the election day for the Church of Scotland. Let the friends of the Church here be not afraid. They were only part of a united army. They had a great cause. He believed that truth was on their side, and truth and justice, they knew, must in the long run prevail. The Church was worthy of their support and if they gave her a new lease of life, as he hoped they would, she would in the future do far greater service for the people of Scotland than she had done in the past. If he might use the words of the song,

" ' Gi'e her sail, gi'e her sail,
She will weather the gale;
She has roared through as heavy a sea before,
And she'll roar through a heavier yet? ' "

Kilmarnock "justified" itself in that election, and Lord Balfour of Burleigh was no false prophet when he told the people "The Church would do far greater

service for the people of Scotland than she had done in the past."

Through those years of fighting defence the Church learnt many a lesson, and borne in on this leader's mind was the conviction that her future strength lay in union, and that it was the desire of the coming generation both among ministers and laity.

Dr. Cameron and other private members brought in Disestablishment Bills and Resolutions in the Commons. When the Finlay Bill was introduced, the Liberals, led by Sir George Trevelyan, wrecked that fair and early promise of a union betwixt the Churches. They were like the total abstainers, they preferred to leave grievances unredressed, that their claim for total extinction might be the stronger.

Balfour had no opportunity in the House of Lords, but he was watching Scotland with unflagging interest, and whenever opportunity afforded he was ready with his defence. He knew how to suit his countrymen. He argued the case, before them, with good humour, and adorned it with many an illustration. He was always full of "wecht." He was ever ready to expose the subtle delusions of Rainy and his party. Balfour knew the Church case, and he knew Scotland.

His outlook was ever ahead of the times; it was the outlook of a statesman, and it was to bear ample fruit in the coming years.

The Assembly of 1890, in which Lord Balfour made a notable speech, was one which stood out as memorable among the many memorable ones held in those anxious years.

Mr. Cameron's Disestablishing Bill was before the Commons, and although it was brought in by a private member, the Church knew it was fostered by Mr. Gladstone, egged on by the Disestablishers.

The defence throughout the country had been ably organised. The Assembly held men of all political parties, who were campaigning in the Church's defence, and knew both the political and ecclesiastical outlook. Never before had Balfour risen to address "The Fathers and brethren" with a greater sense of what was at stake. Now he was listened to as one whom the nation had put into the forefront of the battle, and given to him her whole confidence. A contemporary account says: "Lord Balfour spoke in calm, measured tones, and with great earnestness. His manner was marked by lofty courage as well as measured restraint."

In speaking of Gladstone's declaration, in order to secure a unanimous Liberal vote, that no advantage should be filched from the Church of Scotland, that the reference to the Scottish people should be a real reference—"a promise," said Balfour, "thus deliberately given cannot be departed from without a greater and grosser breach of faith than has yet been known in the annals of British politics."

This quotation created "a furore" in the Assembly.

In speaking of the coming conflict Balfour said, "There are some who may shrink from it, but there are others, I tell this Assembly, who mean to fight." Again the Assembly crowded to the doors, testified as with the sound of an army on the march, that they were ready when the battle should be set in array.

As Balfour sat down, having spoken for more than an hour, the Assembly rose to its feet and gave vent to the emotion of the moment. The chronicler says, "they waved handkerchiefs"—these must have come from "the weaker sex" in the gallery, but not to be left out of account.

It is interesting to note the sayings of the Dis-

establishment Press in those days. Balfour's speech "was rousing, boastful and defiant, as befitted the speech of a man who knows he is leading a forlorn hope." The *Nonconformist* wrote, "Balfour's speech was proclaimed to be better than any spoken in the House of Commons on the occasion of the recent debate there. Even Mr. Gladstone's oration, it was held, was quite inferior to it. Without going quite so far, we may frankly admit the excellence of his statement, showing as it did how when a man's blood is up he can entirely transcend himself."

The speech is described at some length because it was the high-water mark of Balfour's achievement in Church Defence, which some called Church-Defiance Defence.

It was also the high-water mark of the Disestablishment Crusade. Never again were its forces to be reassembled; and the Church revived and quickened in her life, became in the fullest sense the Church of the people.

Mr. Gladstone was to retire, and with him went the chief force of the movement. While he lived and kept the Liberal party bound together, by devious devices, he was clearly the most vulnerable point to attack, and the Church leaders struck at him in season and at all seasons.

Gladstone's line had been that the majority of Scottish M.P.'s were Disestablishers, and, therefore, they represented the Scottish people. It had always been the humble boast of the National Church that she was the Church of the poor. Her rites were free to all comers. Her parochial charges were among the poorest, and education had always been grafted and fostered by that Church.

Gladstone asserted that she was not the Church of the poor, without, however, ever substantiating his assertion.

Lord Balfour of Burleigh combated this assertion by statistics, now out of date, but sufficiently convincing at the time. One of Gladstone's "four points," like the heads of a sermon, was that the Presbyterian polity could be as well maintained by other religious bodies. This, he said, was to break up the settlement of 1690, to which all Presbyterians could appeal; it would be a curious way if it were pulled down and destroyed.

One of the four points was whether the Church of Scotland, in its national position, was or was not desired by the people of Scotland. That, Lord Balfour said, must be found out in the near future. "What we demur to altogether is that Mr. Gladstone can know these desires by means of the votes of the Scottish M.P.'s in the Liberal party."

After a long and sustained argument, he closed with the leader of the Liberal party.

Undoubtedly the question (Disestablishment) did make progress between the years 1875 and 1885, and as the election of 1885 drew near, the anxiety of the Church of Scotland was roused.

"Yes, but her spirit was also roused, and in no small degree by the noble stand and the noble speech made by him with whom I had the honour at that time of being associated in the Convenership of this Committee" (Principal Tulloch). "At any rate the result of the agitation which was then carried on, and to which we at least have no need to look back with shame or searching of heart, was, that for the sake of securing a unanimous Liberal vote, Mr. Gladstone was obliged to give us certain promises and certain pledges. These promises and pledges were repeated again and again, and their terms, I have no doubt, are present to the minds of all of you.

These were the words of Mr. Gladstone: "We

(that is the Liberal party) ought to labour for a state of things in which every Liberal Churchman shall feel that in voting for a Liberal candidate he is in no way voting for, or giving an opinion on, the question of Disestablishment, though that candidate may be favourable to Disestablishment."

Again, Gladstone said, and with great emphasis, and with all the rhetoric of which he is so consummate a master, that no advantage should be filched from the Church of Scotland. And, again, that any reference that should be made to the people of Scotland must be "a real reference, for a real consideration, and for a real decision."

Moderator, these were not pledges asked for by the friends of the Church. They were pledges voluntarily given, and given not for our purposes, but for the purposes of the leader of the Liberal party. He selected his own time, he spoke in his own words, and he chose his own manner of making the terms.

"I venture to say that terms deliberately given in such a way cannot be departed from without a greater and grosser breach of faith than has yet been known in the annals of British politics."

The speech ended on a personal note. Having said that the times were such that he believed that neither their Committee, nor the Assembly itself can lay down any principle which will be of universal application, for the guidance of the people to whom we are about to appeal. The friends of the Church must organise themselves into Church Defence Associations all over the country, as the defence needed organisation, and it must embrace the whole country.

"I have now been for some six or seven years one of the conveners of this Committee. In the spring I intimated to the Committee that I must be relieved of these duties. First, because the cares and occupations with which I am charged are growing

more and more onerous and I honestly felt that I could only with great difficulty give the constant time and attention which the work was likely to demand. Secondly, I am bound to say that I have sometimes feared that my known connection with the political party now in power might be adverse to the best interests of the Church so far as my efforts at organisation are concerned. I therefore told the Committee that I should ask them at this time to look out for a successor in those duties which I have endeavoured to discharge. . . .

“It is because I feel that if I were to resign at the present moment, my conduct and motives might be misconstrued, that I again offer to place my services at the disposal of the Assembly.”

He then stated how much he still hoped to serve the Church, but that to go on alone was impossible. And he proposed that Dr. Scott should be made Joint Convener with himself on this important Committee.

“In conclusion, I say that if you are pleased to give us the instructions contained in the Deliverance which I now move, we will do our best to render you hearty and loyal service, but we can do no real good unless we are made to feel that we possess the confidence of the Church, and unless our efforts are supported by those who in the daily round of their occupations, be they ministers or elders, are enrolled in the service of the Church of Scotland, and are prepared to devote themselves to her cause.”

In the meantime the defences were kept up, and the leaders were in every Presbytery. Year by year the Assembly concentrated its full strength on maintaining the Church of the Nation, and year by year, scenes of intense excitement, amid crowded Assemblies, gave the keynote to the whole country. In the election of 1885 many seats were won by Liberal

LIBERAL PARTY AND DISESTABLISHMENT 53

Churchmen against Disestablishers. Notable amongst these were Inverness Burghs, in the person of Mr. R. B. Finlay, Q.C. The Liberal politicians began to think the Church of Scotland was not such an easy prey as they had been led to believe. They drew off from the attack, though they never lost the tail of Liberal Liberationists which clung to them, and clamoured for Disestablishment at every turn of the election tide.

Mrs. Oliphant, writing to Mr. Blackwood on the Gladstone atmosphere in Scotland, says :—

“ December 1880.—I sympathise with you very much in respect to the obstinacy of Scotland about Mr. Gladstone. It is very strange and if it brings about Disestablishment it will be very unfortunate. Still you know the upper classes in Scotland have separated themselves so long from the people in that respect that they cannot say much. It has always seemed to me a great misfortune for the country that the Church of the Nation was not the Church of the gentry. I have no doubt it lies at the bottom of the separation in other matters.”

At every meeting of the Assembly B. of B. was in his place whatever office he held, or however heavy the accumulated burden of work on him. As his tall form made its way up the Assembly on the opening day every eye was on him, and year by year he was acclaimed by all. The day set apart for Church Defence was the day of days. Scots love “ a man of his hands,” and on that day time and again Balfour of Burleigh showed the eloquence of complete conviction, and of an earnestness which could not be restrained. His figure did not grow less, age and sorrow clouded his face, but to the last of his days in the Assembly he was a leader and commander loved and trusted by the General Assembly.

One, who had often witnessed these scenes, was describing B. of B.'s appearances to the late Lord Salisbury, who somewhat questioned the possibility of such ascendancy and said he was quite different in the House of Lords. "Perhaps," was the answer, "it is a case of ilka cock on its own dunghill."

The position was not built up without hard work. He bore more than most laymen a full share of the work of the Assembly. Some early appearances of his have been given, showing his deep interest in the schemes of the Church. He attended his Synod, and was conversant with every bit of the work.

It is impossible not to feel, looking back on the records of these past controversies, how often they diverted the Church from its proper work. It made the ministers politicians, and that they kept strictly to "Church Defence" is much to their credit. But the ways of political parties are a delusion as compared with the things that matter, and that ministers can do their own work untroubled by Disestablishers to-day has its merits, though the times are less thrilling to live in.

No Scotsman fights in kid gloves, but that there was so little rancour and bitterness is largely due to Lord Balfour. He was said to possess "the Thistle's own temper," but it was never allowed to obtrude itself where such issues were at stake.

It was not till 1897 that Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman was constrained to write to his constituents, "As to Disestablishment, I think Tommy Shaw is right—a frank and firm reference to it is advisable, but saving his presence, there are few of our public men who care much about it just now, and fewer still in private. 'Let the Auld Kirk alane, she's da'ing nae hairm,' is the prevalent feeling, and not the rain of all the Rainys can, for the moment, raise the tide" (C.-B.'s *Life*, Vol. I. p. 188).

CHAPTER V

PARLIAMENT AND THE BOARD OF TRADE

1888-1889

"A nation which does not respect its past will have no future to deserve respect."—BURKE.

THE tale of Church Defence has carried us over a number of years, but it seemed best to give some consecutive account of the attack on the National Church, and of its defence. Had the Church not been "National," enlisting in its ranks men of all political parties, and those who, having no politics, came into the ranks of "party," in order to defend what was felt to be a National possession, the Disestablishers would have succeeded. Surveyed as a whole, it was a fine bit of organisation, and the leaders, both lay and notably the clerical, knew how to defend their cause. It would be vain to enumerate all the forces which came into play. Notable amongst these was the Layman's League, which drew into its ranks some of the best known of the Free Church names: men who remembered what the Disruption stood for,—a more spiritual interpretation of the tie between Church and State, and they disapproved of seeing the Church treated as the shuttlecock of political parties, and separated from the nation. From Church Defence, and the cry for Disestablishment was to grow in due time the fair flower of union and fellowship, and political parties had no use for that which raised in a new form "Religious Equality," out of which no party capital could be made.

The land had rest from this controversy. The Church had time and opportunity to build up her spiritual walls, and renew her work, confident that the highway had been prepared for her in the wilderness of political parties.

On reading through the records of this time, it is amazing the work which was accomplished by Lord Balfour. We find him engrossed in the details of his county administration. Again he is presiding with evident intimate knowledge over railway business. Education, in all its branches, absorbs his attention. Out of Scotland, he was a constant speaker in Parliament, and on affairs other than Scottish. It was remarked that he was the only one of the sixteen representative peers of Scotland who made himself known.

In 1883 the Local Government (Scotland) Bill was introduced into the Lords at too late a season, and on the ground that it could not have proper consideration, Lord Balfour moved its rejection. His action was considered conclusive as to the chances of the Bill.

Fortunately, he always asserted that he could sleep as well in the train as in his bed. In one year, he spent sixty nights in the train. Speaking to the Railway Employees at their annual gathering in Stirling, he says, "I say from the bottom of my heart there is no body of men more than another that have any claim upon me to do them good or turn out to a meeting such as this, whenever I could, than those who are employed on the railway in the town of Stirling.—There is no body of servants—I was going to say public servants—they are public servants in one sense certainly—to whom the public owe so much as to the servants on all our railways."

The competition between the North British and Caledonian provided him with a suitable story. The N. B. railway was always, and still is, famous for the

dirty and poverty-stricken aspect of its carriages. A friend (obviously well known in the locality—probably himself), was transferring his effects and himself from one line to the other. On getting into the N. B. carriage he made some explosive remarks, which, being translated into printable language, was answered by the Caledonian porter, "Oh yes, it belongs to the N. B., and they can't afford muckle, puir things."

One last word B. of B. had to say: "I should like to see a sort of friendly association formed to promote the almost unknown art of shutting the door of a railway carriage gently. The younger members of the fraternity may think it adds to their importance. It gives a general air of sharpness and activity if they go along a train and give the doors a bang as they pass. As I have had to do a good deal of travelling, I have had great experience of having the doors shut violently. I would like to have some of those in a carriage, and on a siding, and practise on them what various methods of door shutting may mean."

He was being drawn more and more into affairs of State in these years, and was already marked for high office. In 1888 the Local Government Bill (England and Wales) was entrusted to his care during its passage through the House of Lords. Hansard reveals its difficulties. Lord Salisbury had no great belief in its working and had several amendments down in his own name. To this Lord Granville objected. He said he had felt it wrong that the Prime Minister should take also the Foreign Office into his own hands, but he thought it more unsuitable that the Prime Minister should seek to amend a Government Bill. Lord Salisbury retorted, that Lord Granville was a great stickler for etiquette, but he had no doubt "his noble friend," would move his amendments. The position was a little peculiar, but Salisbury and Balfour were

of a nature to understand each other, and B. of B. no doubt was able to convince the Prime Minister that Local Government would not fall entirely into the hands of the dreaded host of "Experts."

Lord Balfour's speech in introducing the Bill was described "as an excellent summary of its main features." During its passage through the Commons it had evoked "passion and personality," while the Lords "talked with calmness and common sense." Lady Balfour of Burleigh supplies this note: "He knew nothing about English Local Government, and was very nervous before he made the speech. Sir Hugh Owen, of the Local Government Board, coached him, and was amazed how, in the two or three days which Balfour gave to studying the Bill, he had grasped it in every detail."

The Governorship of Queensland fell vacant in the same year. It was offered to Lord Balfour and declined by him. Family reasons prevented him desiring to go to the Antipodes, and assuredly neither Scotland nor Great Britain was able to spare him to the Colonies.

Lord Onslow, however, accepted the post, and thus left vacant the Parliamentary Secretaryship of the Board of Trade, and it was offered to and accepted by Lord Balfour of Burleigh. He also succeeded to the Lordship in Waiting vacated by the Earl of Onslow.

It was an appointment which met with universal approbation, and there was the usual outburst of Press description. "He is a young man, and his Toryism is of that firm unbending order, which is perhaps only to be met with in Scotland.

"One of the best men of business in the Conservative party. He has done a good deal of quiet hard work for the party, and is a pillar of Conservatism in Scotland."

In 1889 the Chairmanship of Committees in the House of Lords fell vacant through the death of the Duke of Buckingham. Lord Salisbury's nominee was Balfour of Burleigh. He thought that he would fill the Chair best. He put it shortly to a Scot in conversation. "We want some one who won't be bullied and who can bully the Railway Companies."

Lord Morley's claims were set forth by Lord Granville, and there was little to choose in experience between the two peers. It was felt that Lord Morley should have got it when the Duke of Buckingham was elected, and he had a strong following among the peers. Lord Salisbury set forth the merits of Lord Balfour in an unusually long and cordial speech. He described him as possessing "great capacity and singular industry," and he quoted "the great ability with which he piloted the L. G. Bill through the Lords in the previous year." Then, glancing at the work of the Chairman of Committees, he amused the peers by saying that "it was necessary for the individual to have the quality of stiffness and firmness because he had to deal with a body of men who were principally remarkable for the variety and multiplicity of their ingenious modes of carrying their object into effect, men whose pleas would melt any heart of ordinary softness, and whose sophistry would confuse any brain that was not exceptionally clear."

This was understood to refer to Parliamentary agents and to experts, a breed to whom Lord Salisbury had a strong aversion. On this occasion he was not successful. The peers took their own view of the situation, and put the Prime Minister in a minority of eighteen. Years afterwards, when the post was again vacant, Lord Balfour of Burleigh refused it, as he would have had to give up posts which he held more to his advantage than that of the Chairmanship of Committees in the Lords.

He was next chosen as Chairman and one of the Commissioners of the Welsh Sunday Closing Bill. It must have been thought that a Scot would understand the difficulties of Wales better than an Englishman. He entered into the enquiry with his usual vigour, and determination to get at the root of the matter, and the mind of the Welsh nation.

A fragment remains, translated from *The Golenad*, the organ of the Calvinistic Methodists of Wales. It is entitled "Balfour of Burleigh at Home," and sets forth how the Welsh pilgrim journeyed to Scotland, to see what sort of a home and estate Lord Balfour had. The writer felt considerable interest in him and his Commission, and said he had gained a reputation in Wales for impartiality—a new light to a Welshman. After some preliminary trouble, he found the locality, and paid a shilling or two to a small town called "Alloa." The Church was his first object. He informs his Welsh readers that the Established Church of Scotland is Presbyterian—more than most Englishmen know. "I have been informed that Lord Balfour is a High Calvinist like some of the old Welsh Methodists whom some of us still remember." He says he heard a distinguished Free Church preacher give one of the best sermons he has heard, brought there by the influence of Lord Balfour in his efforts to establish peace between the Presbyterian Churches.

A Welsh trait follows next. He records "it was curious to observe the nobleman and his wife and children each putting his or her piece of money in the collection bag, just as if they had been a farmer and his family in the uplands of Merionethshire."

Our Welshman then describes the inhabitants, "partly farmers, and partly miners, and they are not apt to be led by any one. Lord Balfour is represented

as treating them frankly, like a man dealing with men and women, and not as a lord dealing with his servants." To illustrate this, he tells an anecdote which he had heard. The Church of Clackmannan was about to choose a new minister, and "the Lord of Kennet" wished them to choose a native of Aberdeen. But the congregation had another choice, especially one miner who got up and said that his Lordship had married a lady from Aberdeen, and that he was ruled by her, therefore he wished to have an Aberdeen minister likewise. B. of B. must have felt that the Lord had delivered him into his hand, but the chronicler goes gravely on. "His lordship replied with perfect good nature, that the allusion to Aberdeen was most thoroughly to the point, as he had never done a better thing than go to Aberdeen for a wife, and should the Church be as fortunate in its choice of a minister as he had been in his choice of a wife, there could be no hesitation in the matter."

This put an end to all the debate, and the Aberdonian minister was selected for the Church. Lady Balfour then comes in for some descriptive touches. Unlike Lord Aberdeen she is Conservative in her principles, "but has nothing to do with the Dames of the Primrose League." She is greatly beloved "and exceedingly hospitable in her house. When at home, Lord Balfour looks after his garden and farm, and gets through his work in the evenings: he reads and writes far into the depth of the night, no amount of work can overcome him."

"The nobleman from the north," as our chronicler terms him, "suited the Welshman, and the Commission prospered."

Perhaps the stiffest bit of work that fell to him as Parliamentary Secretary was the Chairmanship of the Railway Rates and Canal Act. Mr. (afterwards Sir)

Courtenay Boyle was his colleague. The preliminary meeting was in October 1888. It was decided to sit three days a week and to sit from 10.30 to 4 p.m. There are records of fifty-five meetings. It was early decided to take the evidence of the Scottish and Irish Railways separately. It was a gold mine for the lawyers, and the hearings bristle with the names of those who made the Parliamentary Bar great. We read how Balfour Browne was cheered by the various associations and companies which he represented, till Lord Balfour asked that no demonstration of opinion should be made.

As the enquiry proceeded, it got more and more technical, and the Press got anxious as to when the Commission would report, "Lord Balfour is winning golden opinions in the manner he is conducting the Railway Rates enquiry. He is anxious to be fair to everyone, but has a decided opinion of his own."

Another comments: "The Board of Trade classification of goods for railway carriage is an interesting document. How many people could tell what Gannister, or Kainsit or Quarls are? Cullet appears to be broken glass. We find Argolo, and Madders, and sad Irons."

"Spoutings and connections" refer, the writer supposes, to the charge for conveying the G.O.M. on a political pilgrimage. Divi Divis were Nuts.

It was the report on a war between railway companies and traders. The "remains" lie in the pigeon holes of the Board of Trade. The Report gave one letter as characteristic of the Trader's position. "We don't care a — whether it pays the railway or not. Railways ought to be made to carry for the good of the country, or they should be taken over by the Government. This is what all traders want, and mean to try to get."

"We do not think," remarked Lord Balfour of

Burleigh and Mr. Boyle, that such a proposal would ever receive the sanction of Parliament."

Lord Balfour and Mr. Boyle sat seventy-five days in London, eight in Edinburgh, and four in Dublin. They heard the evidence of 211 witnesses, of whom 175 were witnesses on behalf of the traders.

The enquiry affected 900 Acts of Parliament, and many railways. The railway companies dissented from the finding of the Report. "How far the objecting railway companies have done wisely in refusing the terms offered them it rests with themselves to judge. One thing alone is certain, that Lord Balfour and Sir Courtenay Boyle built up a great reputation and one which added prestige to the Board of Trade." It also undoubtedly filled to overflowing the purses of the lawyers, and the Bar must sigh for the days when the Traders and the Railway Companies went a war-faring.

It was in 1892 that Lord Balfour and Sir Courtenay Boyle entertained at dinner "a few of the leading representatives of the Railway Companies and of the Traders who were concerned in the Enquiry held before them under the Railway and Canal Traffic Act."

"B. of B." was always a genial after-dinner speaker. He never mixed business with pleasure. With his work done, he could afford to jest with the Railways and the Traders. None who laughed with him at themselves ever cherished any remembrance but that of a speaker who wished to be a reconciling element within their midst, and one who was as human as themselves."

In May 1892, he received this letter :—

"MY DEAR BALFOUR,

"It gives me great pleasure to inform you, that in recognition of the very valuable services you have

rendered to the Government, the Queen has been pleased to direct that you should be admitted to the Privy Council.

“ Yours very truly,
“ SALISBURY.”

About this time there was a vacancy in the Railway Commissioners. It was reported that Lord Salisbury intended to offer it to Lord Balfour of Burleigh. It would have been quite appropriate to the occasion had he done so. What was inappropriate was a sudden outburst on the part of the Press, and that part of it which usually boasts of being intelligently informed, accusing Lord Salisbury of nepotism and jobbery, presuming that there could only be one Balfour, and that one Mr. Arthur Balfour. This was not the first nor the last time that a name and a title were confused:

CHAPTER VI

SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND

1895-1903

“The gradual influx of wealth, and extension of commerce, have since united to render the present people of Scotland, a class of beings as different from their grandfathers as the existing English are from those of Queen Elizabeth’s time.”—*WAVERLEY*, 1814-(1914).

THE Secretary for Scotland Act was passed in 1885. the Duke of Richmond and Gordon being the first of the Secretaries. There have been fourteen, Lord Balfour being the seventh in the succession, appointed ten years after the Act was passed. Of those fourteen one has been an Englishman, Sir George Trevelyan. The only record he has left is that during his tenure of office, the words in the Queen’s letter to the Assembly, that she intended to maintain the Presbyterian Church in Scotland, were left out.

It was probably an omission, such as occurred when Mr. Balfour was Prime Minister, and the King’s speech from the Throne omitted the usual prayer to the Almighty for a blessing on the labours of Parliament. But Sir George was a suspect and a Disestablisher, “all round.” Great was the consternation when the Assembly received the letter. The Marquis of Breadalbane was the Commissioner, but he was a Liberal Churchman. In any event such an omission could not have come from the Throne, and the Assembly took prompt action. Before the day of the opening, the missing words were found in their

place, and the Secretary for Scotland was put into his.

Lord Balfour of Burleigh was the second Secretary for Scotland to be in the Cabinet, and he probably owed it to the position he had made for himself "furth of Scotland." Naturally, the office has bulked as more important in the eyes of the Scot than the Saxon, and year by year it has become of greater importance to the whole country. It is difficult to look back to the days, a very short time ago as history is made, when Scottish affairs were under the Home Secretary, with the Lord Advocate as nominal coadjutor, really as ruler in Scottish matters.

How different might the story of the Disruption have been, had the office been then in existence, and an enlightened Scot had had a word to say to the ignorant and supine English Ministers of that day and generation !

Mr. Robert Munro, now Lord Alness, when Secretary for Scotland gave an address on the Scottish office, and from his interesting account I am permitted to transcribe some portions.

After the Union, there were certain officers who were called Secretaries for Scotland: no doubt descendants of the Scottish Ambassadors, who appeared after the Union of the Crowns, and before the Union of the countries was effected. These gave the name, now with other associations, to "Scotland Yard," and the Ambassador's "Chapel" has its descendant in the present Kirk of the Crown in Crown Court, Covent Garden.

It is a curious fact that Lord Balfour of Burleigh as Secretary for Scotland should have been instrumental in saving this ancient site from destruction, and by his business gifts, should have organised and encouraged the preservation and rebuilding on the ancient site of

what is not remotely connected with the history of the Scottish Office.

For a hundred and forty years, from the rising of 1745 till the Act was passed establishing the Office, there had been no Secretary for Scotland. It at times was regarded almost as an appanage of able and powerful Scotsmen like Duncan Forbes, and Henry Dundas.

Sometimes it is supposed that the office was revived in 1885 as an attempt to counter the excessive predominance of Parliament House. Hence there was an element of truth in that supposition, but many Lord Advocates were themselves in favour of a change which would relieve them of administrative work for which they had neither the training nor the necessary skilled assistance. This was already felt in the days of Jeffrey and Cockburn.

The demand for a separate lay Minister for Scotland was intensified under the more complex administrative conditions of the seventies and eighties of last century.

It fell to a member of "Parliament House," not the least distinguished of the Lord Advocates, to be Secretary for Scotland through the difficult time of the war. Mr. Munro had to maintain the depleted office, to watch over sundry vital interests during the war, and then to reorganise and set going again the machinery of office. That there was less money to spend was probably better understood by the Scottish Office than most other English ones.

The Secretary for Scotland was established in 1885, but a great deal of quiet and skilled spade work had been accomplished before then.

The Midlothian Campaign of 1880 had drawn all eyes to Scotland, as they have been nearly thirty years later by the elections of 1923. It was clear that

Scotland would insist on her rights in a way which could no longer be met by an English Minister at the Home Office. Fortunately for Scotland, they had in the Under Secretary for that Department a Scot, who was second to none in gifts and in genius. He saw from within the Department the absurdity of continuing an arrangement which had only worked at all, owing to the race of Scottish Lord Advocates. Fortunately, Mr. Gladstone owed much to Lord Rosebery, though he probably never thought of him succeeding as Prime Minister. It is the besetting sin of men already "up in years" that they rarely see any potential powers in those who are still treading the path of youth.

Lord Rosebery was content to be a subordinate of Sir William Harcourt, and there not to immerse himself in the varied duties of English law and order, but to see visions and dream dreams of a Scottish Office, as completely equipped for its great work as was that of England. Let me quote from an article in the *Scotsman*, for it cannot be put more admirably:—"The purpose which engaged him, in an isolated room of a great English department, was to gather together the threads of Scottish administration, then mostly in the hands of English Civil Service clerks, with an hour's interest now and again squeezed from the English Secretary of State. This was the germ of the Scottish Office. Lord Rosebery, working modestly with a broad national policy in view, organised the business of Scotland, drew it apart from its uncongenial environment; took charge of Scottish legislation at Westminster, became in fact the first Minister for Scotland. A notable national movement had been diligently conceived and nurtured in a side room of an English department."

The first Secretary, the late Duke of Richmond

and Gordon, was installed in Dover House, Whitehall, in August 1885.

The story goes that Lord Salisbury, the then Prime Minister, was travelling in the same carriage with Lord Kingsburgh, the then Lord Advocate. They were both going to attend a Council. Discussion fell on the various suitable sites for an office, and the Prime Minister said he wished the office to be well housed. The Lord Advocate mentioned Dover House, and then and there obtained from Lord Salisbury a note assigning the House to the Scottish Office.

Lord Kingsburgh was a man of genius, and the story is most likely in its main outlines to be true. Only a Scot would have taken steps to annex such an ideal building, on such an historic spot in Whitehall.

The Scottish Office began on what would now be considered very restricted lines. But all Offices were in the same case, and their expansion would startle the past holders of Offices which they considered entailed heavy work in their day.

It was provided that the Scottish Secretary should be President of the Committee of the Privy Council that dealt with Scottish Education. He was also Keeper of the Great Seal of Scotland.

“The duties imposed upon the new Office apart from Education were sufficiently multifarious. They included the supervision, either directly or through Edinburgh Boards, of the Poor Law, Public Health, Lunacy Law, Fisheries, the General Register House, Police, Prisons, various branches of town and county government, and the National Galleries.

These were the days when agrarian trouble was rife in the Highlands and Islands.

There had been no transfer of responsibilities for public order, law and justice to the Scottish Office.

The inconvenience of the position was represented to the Cabinet by Mr. Arthur Balfour, who was Secretary for Scotland in the latter part of 1886, and by an Amendment Act of 1887 the Office was placed upon a much wider basis.

The Secretary for Scotland now became possessed of all the undefined common law powers and of all statutory powers of the Home Secretary relating to Scotland, with the exception of a few reservations.

So wide was the transfer that it was even considered doubtful whether the duties in Scotland of the Secretary of State for War had not been transferred to the Secretary for Scotland, and an Act to make the contrary clear was actually passed in 1889. The result of all this change was very important. It was now the definite duty of the Secretary for Scotland to keep in touch with all the proceedings of Government, so as to ensure that Scotland should not be forgotten, and should receive the benefit of all progressive legislation and administrative improvements, and should also obtain her due share of public moneys.

In 1897 Lord Balfour of Burleigh "took a leaf" out of the Irish book, and obtained the sanction of Parliament to an Act setting up a Scottish Congested Districts Board. There followed the Small Landholders' Act (Scotland), which effected further amendments, and a Scottish Land Court was substituted for the Crofters' Commission.

It would be interesting to know what the Home Secretary in Lord Melbourne's Government knew or thought of the Highlands and Islands. Probably they would have had to be looked out on the map to know where they were situated. Even in the present day the War Office objected to certain charges made in the Island of Ulva, as they said the officials should have used the railway.

These stories abound, but to return to Lord Balfour; by these three Acts, he constituted a new authority, a bureaucracy in the Highlands and Islands, and removed the population from being under their ancient authorities to being under an office worked chiefly from Dover House. The Islanders have a saying, "Any landlord but the Board of Agriculture." They have got what they asked for, and must not complain if the whip is one of scorpions. It is an impersonal body and the Board does what it thinks best for the Islanders, in an impersonal manner. Its great mistake, as it has been the mistake of another well-meaning and powerfully rich individual, is to think that it can change the habits of life and of thought of the Islanders. It is possible to cover a country with the most expensive fencing, but the upkeep of the fence, or the necessary "hedging and ditching," must remain with the individual. Counsels of perfection are very easily put into the forms of a Government Department, but it is necessary to find the perfect beings to enact them.

One of the amazing things to watch is the amount of officials who are necessary to do a job, an inheritance from the tail of the chief. Whether it is a house to be built, a fence to be run up, or any form of stock to be introduced, three officials always journey to do it. One does the work, the other stands by, the third is to watch the other two. They are prodigal of "hires," and other charges. If there is a golf course, they take a holiday tour. The worst example of this was when the least known of the Scottish Secretaries took one of the cable ships for which an Island broken cable was anxiously watching, and chartered it to take himself and a picnic party on a cruise. The English Press was called in to help, and the nuisance was abated. There should be an Act of Parliament, forbidding any official of the Scottish

Office to travel in the Hebrides, except during the winter season. The only objection to that would be, that it is the Islanders' "close time," when they are free from the swarm of locusts, and can go their own way, which is what a Hebridean clings to above every other way.

It is amusing to be in the Islands when some Government vessel comes in carrying the Minister of Health or his representative. Then he leans over the comfortable bulwarks, and summons the hard worked and splendid doctors to meet with him. He tells them what ought to be found in the Islands, what diseases are sure to exist, and what statistics say about them. All "expert" opinions, and worth about as much as his travelling expenses. Then he sails on over summer seas, and leaves the Island at rest, till next time. Let him land in the dark days of November to April. Let him face the wild storms that need the strength of heroes to battle with. Let him see those men with their comrades, the Jubilee Nurses, dealing with some operation which can brook no delay, and let him ask himself if he is not a cumberer of the ground, and an expense that should be "axed."

Let it be said in their favour that they have instituted "works of the devil," as they were called on their first appearance, motor-bikes and cars which plough the roads "new made every day by the sea," and add a terror to the horses, but do enable the doctors to get on with their work. Would that the same could be said of their expensive fleets of Government vessels, too few, and too antiquated to do their work, of guarding the fishing rights of the population. The trawler fleets ride defiantly within the three-mile limit, and the fishing banks have departed with the people. The Congested Districts Board is now only

congested with officials and camp followers. The mails, at great expense, are carried over many hundreds of miles by steamers which are a byword and a proverb of cruel discomfort to passengers. The screw might well be applied by a Government Office on Companies which are penurious, penny wise, and pound foolish, but something of the lethargy of those they have to deal with has fallen on "the Boards" that administer these wide districts. They are so far away, no one cares, unless a member of their county, pricked to the heart by the thought of a coming election, asks a question, and gets the usual official answer. Minutes, and orders, and all the paper work goes on, but a Board has no feelings and little knowledge. Well may the Islanders feel dimly after "the touch of a vanished hand, and the sound of a voice that is still." They asked for what they have got, but their hearts are as restless and unstilled as are the washing seas among which their lot is cast.

Officialdom is never elastic, except with the public purse, and the Islanders must be content with their divided-up small holdings, their costly fences, their seed potatoes, the myrmidons sent in to teach them to suck eggs in the expert's manner, and what is time, in the light of eternity?

"B. of B." was no Highlander, but he had a half amused insight into their natures, and when he took his cruises—also in the summer time—to Barra or the outer Isles, he knew what he wanted to see, and he laid hold of certain facts, and he had the heart to sympathise. Above all he did not forget them when he reached the mainland.

Lady Balfour notes—

"Balfour was greatly struck with the success of the educational system in Barra when he visited the schools. The population was, at that time, 80 per

cent. R. C. The head teacher was of that persuasion, the second teacher (a woman) was a Protestant. The school was divided into two rooms while the religious lesson was given. Then the doors between were opened, and the remaining work was carried out.

"The R. C. priest said that they never had the least difficulty at the school board on which the members, R. C. and Protestant, sat in perfect harmony."

Whether the Acts B. of B. saw through Parliament, dealing with the problems of the west, were the things needed time alone can show. He recognised the old order was passing, and as a practical man he set himself to evolve the new one. There was a good deal of the benevolent Despot about his character, and, as we have said, despotism, whether in Church or State, is the only thing that suits the Islanders. He did not like maladministration in any form, and he was quite aware that the Celt has always a keen eye to making money out of the management or mismanagement of "a Board." B. of B.'s love of justice was seen in his constant interest in the claims of denominational religion. Some there were, who when referring to a certain Scottish parochial school board which was entirely composed of Episcopalians, spoke of it as Lord B.'s seed-plot of Episcopacy.

Education has fallen to a level only to be painfully marked by the rise in the rates. It is standardised, and that word is as blessed to a Department as is Mesopotamia. A great deal of this was inevitable. The Highlands and Islands could not be left out of what is called the general improvement of the people, any more than Poplar or Limehouse. The taxpayer likes to know something "is being done"—something to show for the vast expense of administration. The Inspectors of Boarded-out Children are to-day as numerous as the Inspectors of the Poor. All these

travel, as they have a right to do, as expensively as the modern member of Parliament. The Isles cannot be left out of organised Society, but Society will look in vain for the virtues that are not to be organised nor taxed, that used to form the backbone of this hardy and interesting race.

Their ancient customs, so suited to the land in which they dwell, their love of education, their proud independence, their passionate love of their soil and land, all those things are broken down, and entrenched upon by organised bureaucracy. It has taught them that expensive administration is the end-all, and be-all, of Governments, and the last state of that people is spiritually far worse than the first.

To continue to quote from Mr. Munro.

“Not so many people knew that the Fishery Board for Scotland, one of the most important bodies that came within the sphere of the Secretary, was the oldest Department of State dealing with fisheries in the United Kingdom, having existed under various designations since the eighteenth century.

“It was the duty of the Fishery Board to watch over the interests of Scottish fisheries, and that they did so with care and efficiency was universally recognised both at home and abroad.

“A great change had passed over the methods of fishing in the last forty years. Formerly, you had open or half decked boats of small size, propelled by sails. But then there began to appear, more than a generation ago, large vessels, worked by steam power, and using the trawl to secure the bottom fish.

“Science gave no very clear answer to the question whether such wholesale efforts would or would not have a deleterious effect upon the fisheries.

“Professor Huxley thought not; but the trend of

opinion, supported by investigation, had been otherwise."

An ounce of fact is worth all the opinion of scientific men. During the four years of war the trawlers were after a sterner prey than the fish, and the fish returned to their ancient haunts, and the spawn beds had rest. Now that foreign and British trawlers are at work with renewed energy, the fish have vanished, and the small holder has turned to his newly fenced land, in despair of ever reaping the harvest of the sea. Night after night they see the lights of the trawlers lying within the three-mile limit, and coming close in when nights are dark, secure in the uselessness of the Fishery Board, and tired of the broken promises of every Government in succession.

To go into deeper waters than the three-mile limit, Mr. Munro deals next with whale fishing :—

"Another fishery question which had come prominently before the Secretary of Scotland and his Department was that of whale fisheries in the waters north and west of Scotland, which it was alleged interfered with the prosecution of the ordinary and much more important herring fishing. After much discussion and enquiry an Act restricting the whaler's operations was passed in 1907, but further enquiry had been found necessary, and the subject was still one that he heard a good deal about from the fisherman's friends."

The last expert this or any other Board will take an opinion from is the man employed in the industry. Rather consult an Huxley, and set up an expensive enquiry than listen to the tale of the sea, as experienced by the fishermen. Their "friends" in Parliament may or may not be importunate. The Board has no other idea than a Commission of Enquiry, the more expensive the more certain are they to arrive at the

truth. One thing is alone required of them. They must never have seen a fishing net, nor a herring, nor must they know the difference between a trawler and a fishing boat.

Mr. Munro sums up the work of the Secretary for Scotland, and he may have had in his eye one at least of his immediate predecessors who did so much to raise the status and dignity of the office :—

“A Secretary for Scotland must put a severe curb on his personal predilections, and endeavour to deal with those branches of his activities, whatever they may be, that called for immediate attention.

“He could not, being merely human, expand habitually to the width which such a catalogue would demand. He had to live from day to day, to attend Cabinets, to think of Upper Silesia, as well as Auchtermuchty.”

That is a true word. It requires a man of wide sympathies, and a Scotsman to boot, to master all the problems from the Orkneys to Lanarkshire, from the Hebrides to Galloway, and also to apply his mind to National and Imperial politics. It can only be done by an industry and capacity which was in a peculiar degree the possession of Lord Balfour.

“The Isles may be a very little thing,” and their inhabitants remote, and as often turbulent as peace-loving. They are the descendants of men who have fought and been turbulent from the beginning of history, and the call of the blood is as persistent as the sound of the seas. They may go into the cities of the mainland, or they may be driven out to the Colonies. Apart from other men, they will always be found. As they are treated, so are they the salt of the earth, or the scum of dense populations.

We find in a note how early in the beginnings of wireless telegraphy the Secretary for Scotland had

his eye on the invention. The cable was asked for between two islands in the Shetlands. The practical Scot knew it was too expensive for the Post Office to look at it, but Balfour inquired whether "wireless" might not be employed to solve the problem of communication. It is a good illustration of his policy. Not bodily to remove the population, but to overcome their difficulties in a practical spirit.

The strenuous eight years that he spent in Dover House must have held some gleams of amusement, sometimes at the astonishing and fatuous ignorance of the Saxon. Sometimes, a laugh at the peculiarities of his own countrymen. The story goes that in those years when the High Courts were puzzled to distraction over the claims of the Wee Frees that Balfour of Burleigh had an application, which on Sunday he at once shared with his London minister, in the vestry, before the service began.

Principal Rainy had applied for a Government gun-boat, to protect the Church buildings from the violent hands laid on them by the Wee Frees in the Highlands.

The appeal to Cæsar had come home to roost, and the Scottish Office was the recipient of the appeal. It must have been a joke which gilded the pages of Church Defence, and put to rout the Liberal Dis-establishers with whom the Secretary for Scotland had waged so long a battle.

For the rest, he once said to the writer, "Between us (Mr. Graham Murray) we know every man in Scotland." It was a proud, but not a vain boast. B. of B. knew and cared to know his countrymen, and was listened to, and won the confidence of Scotland, even from the thrawn Celt, to the Lowlander dwelling in the Carse of Stirling.

CHAPTER VII

THE THRONE, AND THE HOME

“ Weel kent faces, and weel kent places.”

THIS chapter must be one of collecting together certain descriptions and events in the life of B. of B., which may recall in one glance some of the activities of his life and some of the scenes in which he took part.

Mr. George Lee was for a considerable time his Secretary, and to his pen I owe the following description of his life as secretary to his chief.

Edinburgh, Jan. 9, 1923.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

I duly received your note at the end of last week, and will be glad if any of my impressions, or recollections, are of any service to you, though I fear that my observations will only be a confirmation of the estimate which has been formed by others more competent to judge.

Of course I realise that anyone who has served as Private Secretary for the time I did has exceptional opportunities of seeing his Chief as he really is, but it may be that familiarity leads one to be less observant than one might or ought to be. You must, therefore, make allowances if my remarks are few and if there is nothing of interest in them.

Unquestionably the first and last estimate I should make of my old Chief is that he was extraordinarily easy to work for. Though exacting in a sense, he was more considerate than anyone I have ever come across. He expected from others a measure of the regularity and punctuality which were characteristic of his own methods, but he never expected the impossible. Like everyone else he had moods, but even in these moods there was regularity and method. I knew exactly when and when not to interrupt him, and as I think he understood this it gave me a confidence which made our relationship, so far as I was concerned, extremely happy and comfortable. I could go into his room at all times and under all circumstances whether he was engaged or not. If I only wanted to get a paper I could move about and seek for what I wanted without his appearing to be aware of my presence. If, on the other hand, it was necessary to interrupt him a mere look was sufficient to tell me whether to intervene, and, if so, at what juncture. This may seem very commonplace, but what I am trying to convey is how easy his methods made it for anyone in my position to act even in difficult circumstances. What he very obviously did not like was to be interrupted at the wrong time or in the wrong way.

Although he had very strong convictions himself I was always immensely impressed by his courtesy and tolerance in criticising the actions of those whose views differed from his own. He always appeared to give his opponents credit for the highest motives even when their actions distressed or angered him.

It has, I think, frequently been remarked that his was essentially a judicial type of mind and the more

one saw of his dealings with the very varied personal questions which came before him for decision the more one was struck by his extraordinary fairness. I might refer to the care which he gave to the anxious, and sometimes very troublesome, task of deciding and weighing up the merits of candidates for the varied appointments which were in his gift or in that of the Crown. In cases where he had to rely on expert opinion, as in the case of University Chairs, he would go to any amount of trouble before proceeding to form his own views, and I do not for a moment believe that he was ever swayed by any consideration other than what was the best in the public interest. I can remember one case in particular in which he felt bound to resist suggestions made from the very highest quarter because his own conviction was that another course was preferable in the public interest. He once told me that he thought he had only made one really bad appointment, and I have heard from others that that particular appointment was made under circumstances in which he was not really a free agent.

As you know he was always too busy a man to allow interests or hobbies to occupy much of his thoughts. I really think that the only hobby, which was never altogether forgotten, was his love of the garden, and it was no uncommon thing for him to throw me a catalogue in which some new specimen was marked and to ask me to order whatever it was to be sent to Wann. I remember an occasion on which I spent a very dull hour at Willis' Rooms watching a sale of dwarf Japanese trees. (I hope my report was intelligent, but I doubt it.)

Although he was an old oar himself, I do not think he really kept up any interest in rowing, but if he did

not happen to be in London himself I invariably had to send him a wire with the result of the Varsity Boat Race.

I need hardly tell you how much the longest or most tedious day was brightened by those humorous touches which came out sometimes at the most unexpected moments.

As an administrator no Secretary for Scotland, either before or since his time, has had such a thorough grasp of the affairs of the various Civil Departments in Scotland, and certainly no Political Chief has ever inspired such confidence in all ranks of the Civil Service in Scotland. Not only did he keep in close touch with the heads of all the Departments, but he knew many of the subordinates, and no one who thought himself ill-used was ever refused a hearing if he had a case at all. I have frequently heard it said in recent years that such and such a thing could never have happened in Lord Balfour's time. His memory for the details of every case that had ever been dealt with by him was remarkable and I have often known him to remind those who had every reason to be more familiar with the details of a case than he was himself. He was certainly a most wholesome and inspiring influence to all his subordinate officials.

His knowledge of men and his sympathy made him also extremely popular and much respected amongst those who served him in a humbler capacity, and people like messengers, Club servants, railwaymen and others, with whom he came in frequent contact, respected him and remembered him in an unique way. To this day I have frequent examples of this, and I often hear him spoken of with a respect and affection which shows how deep an impression he made upon

all those with whom he came in contact. As an example of one of those small acts of thoughtful kindness which seemed to come naturally to him, I never remember seeing him leave the train at the Haymarket Station in the morning without handing his paper to the engine-driver as he passed.

I could have written much more, but it is difficult to avoid the obvious.

It would be impossible to write, however slightly, of Lord Balfour's many preoccupations and not speak of his relation to the Throne, to which he gave the loyalest service, and the devotion of a heart which as the years passed on, grew only more reverential and attached to the Queen. He had entered her service when young, she knew and trusted his worth. He was never afraid to tell her the truth, and there was complete understanding between them on the matters which concerned Scotland.

Lady Balfour has put together a few of her recollections, they cover many years, but they do not vary in their relations to the Sovereign, in whose service Balfour loved to spend and be spent.

There was always a strain in him of the Scottish Jacobite, which melted into "the high old Tory," but it was felt and appreciated in the quarters where it was always expressed. There was no disguise about B. of B. What he felt at the moment he showed with a boy-like unreserve; often it was hard to fit in the tempestuous and impatient with the judicial calm of the arbitrator and peacemaker. That was one of the interesting studies in his character. He had to be reckoned with as of uncertain disposition in the smallest matters. When, however,

the cloud had blown over no man ever made more generous reparation or sought more eagerly to erase any bad impression he had left on the surface of life. Lady Balfour writes as follows :—

“Balfour had a very special relationship to the Queen. Her Majesty always showed him marked kindness and consideration. In many ways he suited her. They shared the same devotion for Scotland, and the Queen was a great upholder of the National Church. B. of B.’s feelings towards her, as were those of so many of her Councillors, were almost filial in feeling. She liked his frank open ways, and his stories were always apposite and amusing. The Queen had her formidable side, but it was never shown to those she trusted, and whose confidence she never betrayed. Many were afraid to speak the truth, but that was not Balfour’s way with her. He gave his reasons, and said his say fearlessly and treated her with unshadowed confidence.

“She was always keen when he was at Balmoral that he should have plenty of sport. On one occasion, when he was Secretary for Scotland, he had a case of capital punishment to decide. At the last moment he received a huge petition for the reprieve of the murderer. He decided that he must again go thoroughly into the whole matter. The Queen asked him, ‘Won’t you shoot to-day? Or, will you fish? You cannot have any boxes to-day because to-morrow is Sunday.’ Balfour did not wish the Queen to be worried over the matter, and managed to get his day to himself without telling her the reason. He was often in attendance at Osborne and Windsor, and he was the last Minister in attendance on her at

Balmoral. He was also the first there when King Edward succeeded."

The Queen took great interest in the birth of Lord Balfour's youngest child. The Queen told him she wished to be her godmother. "She must be called Alexandrina. I like the name." Lord Balfour asked if he might associate her mother's name with that of the Queen. Her Majesty was most gracious and gave Lord Balfour a parcel addressed to Lady Balfour. "He sent it to me," writes Lady Balfour, and added, "there is a big blot on the packet, which she addressed herself, it gave me a lump in my throat."

Balfour used to say, writes his wife, "What pleasure he had in thinking, later in his life, that he had served four generations of the Royal family in a confidential capacity."

He attended King Edward at Balmoral after his accession. He wrote me then how much touched he was by the extraordinary kindness shown him. When Robert (the Master of Burleigh) came back from the South African War, the King insisted that Balfour should send for him to Balmoral in order that His Majesty might personally decorate him with his war medal.

This pleased the boy much, for he had previously said he did not care a bit about the medal unless he got it *personally* from the King, for saying which, we much derided him.

When Lord Ducie resigned the Lord Wardenship of the Duchy of Cornwall, the King asked Balfour to take it. "That," said one of his friends, "is a sign that he considers you the best man of business in the country." The work was very heavy, but of great interest, and he threw his whole heart into it.

The Cornwall committee of men were all his personal friends, and he found in the secretary, Mr. W. (now Sir Walter) Peacock, a man of great intelligence and of wide knowledge. Together they visited many parts of the Duchy, which is situated in seven counties.

The London property is in Kennington, and was a source of special interest. Balfour was set on demolishing the worst buildings, Mr. Peacock was very keen on architecture, and a great many new streets were laid out. Balfour's mind was much occupied by the Prince of Wales' first public act. He said that the King's had been the opening of a Hall, but he wanted the Prince to be connected with a church.

St. Alphage's Church was being built, and it was decided the Prince should lay the foundation stone. The Prince performed this in a great public function.

Immediately after King Edward's funeral, King George sent for Balfour. He had had to go to Scotland for the memorial services held there, and had only returned that morning.

The reason the King had sent for him was to ask him to act as Chairman of the Duchy. When the Prince of Wales is a minor the King is Chairman, but, King George explained, he felt that he would not now have time for this duty, and he wished to depute it to Balfour. "I believe," says Lady Balfour in her notes, "that the last subject to be Chairman was Sir Walter Raleigh."

There is one other story, in which Lord Balfour played a part, which is illustrative of his relations with the Throne. The parish of Crathie, in which Balmoral is situated, fell vacant. Mr. Campbell,

the minister who had held it for a number of years, and was much valued by the Queen, fell into ill health and had to retire. The vacancy was the first in the parish since the Patronage Act, and the people were inexperienced, and the more set on their own way. The position was mismanaged by ecclesiastics, who have never an elementary idea of diplomacy, and the parish got involved in what can only be described "as a knot." The Queen was much interested in the choice to be made. The clans were also involved, this side of the river and on that. The situation had its humours, but there was a grave side to it also, for the last thing the people desired was to be put into opposition to the Queen's wishes. It was very soon evident that the Queen had forgotten the Patronage Act, and that she was working on lines which presupposed her to be the sole Patron of the parish.

Who should put the exact position of affairs before Her Majesty and tell her the whole truth of the complicated matter? None of her Court were willing. Lord Balfour possessed himself of the whole situation, as the extinct but existing correspondence shows, and set forth to Her Majesty how the congregation stood, and that the Queen had herself abolished the right of Patrons. Her Majesty listened to the statement, and grasped the situation. There was a moment's pause, and then the Queen gave way to a hearty fit of laughter. It is needless to say that when the choice fell on one who worthily held the position of parish minister she was a loyal and sincere friend to him and her own people, and so the storm passed over, and died away among the heather hills.

And when the end of that long reign came, it was with the inside knowledge of the Minister and the feeling of a loyal and dutiful son that Balfour spoke before the special meeting of the Commission of the General Assembly. "We may speak of the magnitude of the loss not only to this country, but to the world at large in the death of our Queen. We might think of what is not less true, and will not come less home to us, the personal nature of the sorrow which each one of us is experiencing at this time, or we might think of the completeness of the understanding which existed between the Queen and her people of many lands. Her work, indeed, was absolutely continuous and absolutely constant.

"Or, we might think of the difficulties which have been bridged over by her matchless influence. We might think of the wisdom or the gentleness of the nature of the Queen, and of the universality of her sympathy with everyone who was in distress.

"Moderator, it is not too much to say that the name of Queen Victoria has become a synonym for all that is loftiest and noblest and purest in our age.

"She was so great that the more you saw of the Queen the more irresistibly you were drawn within the sphere of her influence, and the more your reverence was increased.

"If I were to single out one attribute more than another for special notice, I would venture to lay stress upon the extraordinary faculty possessed by the Queen for inspiring at once love and respect.

"There was in her a personal magnetism which nothing could resist. At the same time there was a simplicity and straightforwardness which no one could fail to understand, and there was a fairness of judgment which was born only of the greatest

experience. You might rely upon this, that whether you were absent or present, whether your action was wholly agreeable or not, you would be treated with the most perfect loyalty and the most perfect confidence—that at any rate you were believed to have done your best in what you thought right. In other words, it was impossible to conceive the Queen passing a hasty judgment, or doing an unfair thing.”

A great emotion will sometimes touch as with a coal from off the altar of the whole life, a speech such as this, and it was listened to by the Assembly as men who mourned not only a sovereign, but one who had been as a mother in their memories, and they were at one with the speaker.

In 1898 a petition was drawn up to the Queen with reference to the use of the words England and English in matters in which Scotland was also concerned. As everything that affected the United Kingdom concerned Scotland, the petition might be said to be a national one. The memorial, or petition, went through the hands of the Secretary for Scotland, and in due course Lord Balfour of Burleigh *con amore* presented it as was his duty to the Queen.

The Queen was not unsympathetic and drew the attention of the Prime Minister to the subject. Lord Salisbury considered the matter and wrote to Lord Balfour: “I have dictated a summary of the argument which appears to me to be fatal to the Scottish petition. The choice appears to be between a Scottish and an Irish grievance.”

This evidently did not satisfy the Secretary for Scotland, and the Prime Minister again writes: “I forgot to speak to you at Cabinet about the Scottish memorial. I do not know quite what you wish. It would not be difficult to write a reply to it, which,

I think, would be cogent, but its cogency would not make it conciliatory ! Very much the reverse. And the question which you have to answer is whether you care so much for an effective refutation, and run the risk of alienating many hearty supporters thereby.

"If you answer this question in the negative I fancy that your proper course would be simply to say that you had laid their memorial before H.M., who had been pleased to receive it graciously.

"But, if you care for a refutation, it shall be supplied to you in a very brief space."

Lord Balfour replied to this. After saying he was prepared to lay the memorial before H.M., and to say that she had received it graciously, he pursued the subject : "I think, however, that this will only postpone the time when some more definite answer will have to be devised. I am sure from what I know of the feeling on the subject that either by correspondence or by question in Parliament the promoters of the petition will return to the charge.

"I should like, therefore, to see your effective refutation of the petition and its statements."

To this the Prime Minister replied :—

"The effective refutation shall be prepared and subjected to your criticism. But I am afraid I must ask you to send me a copy of the memorial to work upon."

The "refutation" is a masterly document, but it is based too largely on the argument as illustrated by the Act of Union with Ireland to be apposite to quote here. Lord Salisbury was incorrigible in this respect, and often lost the attention of his Scottish audiences by his persistent use of the words "England and English." He was never put out by the equally persistent interruptions which met the words. "Why are you so particular, when you have annexed

England?" he retorted at one meeting. There are passages marked by his caustic humour.

"It does not seem to me clear that the mention of the word 'Great Britain' in that article (the Act of Union) was designed to have this special effect upon the language employed by public writers. If it had been, I do not think the word 'Great Britain' would have been selected, for it is obvious that 'Great Britain' is not capable of being inflected so as to be used as an adjective, or for the purpose of designating an inhabitant of the country.

"For that purpose it has been very often the habit to use the word 'British,' and 'Briton.' In this country the word 'Briton' is now seldom used, and carries with it a slight flavour of ridicule. For instance, I am trying to negotiate that the Inspector of Maritime Customs in China shall always be an Englishman. But I am afraid that if I contended that he should always be a Briton, I should be laughed at.

"The word 'British' is extensively used, both in this country and in America. If it had been the intention of the framers of the Act of Union to prescribe in all cases the use of the word 'British' and 'Briton' they would have been using a more suitable phraseology if, instead of applying the word 'Great Britain' to the United Kingdom of England and Scotland, they had applied only the word Britain. The term 'Great Britain' was probably applied to this island in the days when Brittany was known by the name of Britain; but that time had long gone past when the Act of Union of Scotland and England was enacted; and if the framers of that Act had had in view that the adjective, and the designation of the inhabitants, as well as the territorial name, should be as a matter of fact obligatory,

it is more than probable they would have selected the name of Britain, from which British and Briton naturally flow."

The document ends :—"The advantage of the use of the word 'England, English, and Englishmen' is that it has not any strict geographical interpretation, but is generally used for any inhabitants of these islands. Its use is traditional and based upon a long course of history. It has followed the development of our literature. The language in which we all speak is without contest called the English language. The practice of using the words England, English, and Englishman is convenient: it carries a clear idea to everybody's mind; and as it rests not upon an interpretation of a Statute, but upon a long established custom, it raises no jealous question of honour or pre-eminence among the various populations of the two islands. While therefore agreeing that the formal phrase 'United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland' should be employed in all documents of a strictly formal character, I do not think any advantage would be gained by attempting to modify the laxer practice which is instinctively followed by writers and speakers upon public questions, in designating either the territory of the United Kingdom, the adjective formed from it, or the inhabitants who dwell on it.—S."

There are no records as to whether the "Refutation" satisfied the Scottish soul of the Secretary. The two men understood each other, and both could see the humorous side of the dispute. No doubt Lord Salisbury when in Scotland, a land he respected but did not like, tried to govern his tongue, and was duly warned of Scottish susceptibilities whenever he entered that country.

In 1902 Lord Balfour of Burleigh wrote a letter to

the *Spectator*, saying he had always imagined that paper prided itself not only on the purity of its English, but in the accuracy of the expressions used in its columns. The coronation of King Edward had had to be postponed owing to his serious illness, and the Secretary for Scotland notes how the *Spectator*, commenting on the postponement and the deep feeling of the country, had throughout employed the word "England and English." A terribly narrow view to take of the subject that the notables assembled in the Abbey had acclaimed the undoubted King of this Realm, and that they were the people of England.

His remonstrance was enforced with one of those apt stories which no one enjoyed more than he when he got hold of one "to point the moral and adorn the tale."

A distinguished dignitary of the Church of England was expatiating to a Scotsman, an intimate friend of B. of B.'s, on the excellence of his holiday, and concluded by saying that he had spent the last ten days of it in Edinburgh, "which I always consider the most beautiful city in *England*."

B. of B. adds kindly, "This certainly is an instance of thoughtlessness, rather than anything else, for the good man intended not only to be civil, but laudatory." The *Spectator*, in one of its famous Editorial Notes, hastily made the *amende honorable*, and published no "refutation." It only regretted the euphoniousness of England as against British, which was the groundwork of Lord Salisbury's argument.

The writer recollects a similar argument between her father and Mr. Asquith on the use of the words Scottish, Scotch and Scot. The contention was that Scotch was the English word. No Englishman can

say "The Flying Scotsman," they always talk of "The Flying Scotchman." The argument lasted some time, and was only ended by the Englishman asking if we talked of "Butter Scottish"?

I have heard the incurable English visitor at Whittingham asking when the newspapers arrived. Their attention was drawn to the *Scotsman* lying on the tables. "I don't mean the *Scotchman*, I mean the English papers." As if their news, or their language, differed, except perhaps in veracity, the one from the other! There was another instance, connected with the Coronation, where Lord Balfour of Burleigh again took effectual steps against English arrogance. In the same year, 1902, when the world was full of Coronation preparations, the Lord Chamberlain's office remembered that there was a Scottish Regalia; that it had any previous history, or was in any way connected with Scottish history was, of course, unknown to those who never knew the kingdoms were not always united. The Regalia was there, and the Lord Chamberlain's Department ordered that it should be removed from the Crown Room in Edinburgh Castle, and brought to London to be on "exhibition" in connection with the Coronation, the Regalia meaning the Scottish Crown, the Sword of State, and Royal Sceptre.

On hearing of this audacious order, the Secretary of State immediately paid a visit to the Crown Room in the castle. He had with him a Government official, and the officer commanding the troops in the castle. This last was armed with the key which would open the iron doors of the enclosure, and would permit the greatly prized Regalia to be carried out of Scotland at the dictate of the English Lord Chamberlain's department.

It was a critical moment in the history of Scot-

land, and a more apathetic Secretary might have permitted it to take place, even, as of late, the Records of Scotland have been allowed to be transferred to England.

In the Official Guide of the Castle it was recorded that by the Treaty of Union it was specifically stated that under no circumstances was the Scottish Regalia to be removed from the Scottish capital.

Luckily, Scots are better educated than English officials, and those in charge of the Regalia were able to hand Lord Balfour documentary evidence to the same effect.

The Secretary for Scotland considered, as was his way, the documents put before him, and decided that to give effect to the demand made by the Lord Chamberlain's Department would amount to a breach of faith with the Scottish people. Lord Balfour's office especially entailed on him the duty of preserving those rights, and once more he was an efficient and vigilant guardian. With his documents complete he travelled to London, and the Department became aware of Scotland in the person of the Secretary. "His expressions were pronounced." They were not to be made a common show of in England. He came not with the Regalia, but with the defence of Scottish rights. As nothing further was heard from the Department it was presumed it had learnt a little history, and was a sadder, but never a wiser one. Once again, *nemo me impune lacessit*. Such "defences" as this and many another must have made B. of B. more sympathetic to memoranda which prayed that Scotland might be mentioned as an integral portion of the Empire.

The last of these departmental efforts has an ecclesiastical flavour not without its humorous side.

The occasion was the Coronation of George V, and Lord Balfour wrote to the late Duke of Norfolk :—

“ I hope you will not think me unduly persistent if I again ask you to look personally into the arrangements which are being made for the Church of Scotland representatives at the Coronation.

“ On the last occasion, the King’s Chaplains were all invited as well as certain selected representatives of the General Assembly. With regard to the former, we are perfectly satisfied with the terms which you have been good enough to give us, but when I was in Edinburgh I was informed that a letter had come which implied that only the Senior Chaplain was to be invited on this occasion.

“ I express the very earnest hope that the precedent of last Coronation will not be departed from, and that the King’s Chaplains, who are very few in number, will again receive commands to be present.

“ I am the more apprehensive that something unauthorised is being done, because a gentleman who signs himself ‘ Somerset Herald ’ has actually been silly enough to write to the representatives of the Scottish Episcopal Church on the subject.

“ It seems to me incredible that anyone holding so responsible a position in the Herald’s College could be so ignorant, but the actual letter has been placed in my possession, so that there is no doubt in regard to the matter.”

The Duke hastily made peace with “ the heretics ” in the way. He assured Lord Balfour that all connected with the Royal household would receive invitations.

Well might one of the Chaplains concerned write to him, “ I feel sure *that* has only come about because you were good enough to interest yourself on our behalf.”

Any life of B. of B. would be very incomplete

without some account of his home at Kennet, and of the family which during the passing years filled it with the life of youth, and the prospects of those who are going forth to the battle of life. There was no idleness; all his family followed the pattern set them of strenuous lives, lived in the service of their surroundings. Much and often as he was called from it, the home was always the goal of Lord Balfour's life. He returned to it ever with joy, and its interests were always among his central thoughts.

No man was consulted oftener in private affairs, and his papers are filled with controversies and differences, brought to him to adjudicate upon. He gave his fullest attention to these private affairs. There are constant traces of how he set himself to make the parties in the dispute understand each other, and show them the other side of the matter.

In one vexatious dispute, which occurred between two great friends, he was at pains to set the matter right. "For to-morrow," he wrote, "I have seven appointments, but I can see you at such an hour. During the conversation that ensued one of the parties exclaimed impatiently, "You only see the other side." "No," came the quick response, "but I am always with the under-dog." It was the first indication which side he thought ought to behave most generously. The "under-dog," through affairs public and individual, had his silent help and sympathy. His capacity for taking pains was as great as his industry. Let him find that any of his humbler friends was going to undertake a difficult journey, or was in any sort of perplexity, Lord Balfour would sit down with Bradshaw in hand and work it out, or he would write letters, pulling on ropes, to make the difficulty disappear. It is on record that he went up every evening to play Cribbage with an old friend

and nurse of the family; no one was too out of the way for his attention, and to age Balfour always paid a tribute which was beautiful to watch. There is a peculiar pride of possession which all true Scottish lairds have in abundant measure. They genuinely think that their homes are set in the best scenery and the most salubrious climate in the British Isles.

Their gardens and orchards, their trees and their acres, are not only better than their neighbours, but they transcend those of other less favoured mortals.

Their parks and "policies," the last a comprehensive word unknown in England, are identified with themselves and all belonging to them. B. of B. was not behind other Scotsmen in this possessive belief. He had an ever youthful joy in his garden, radiant in all the geranium and heliotrope glory of the mid-Victorian Age. Lady Balfour says, "He moved with the times, and was always improving the standard of the garden. He took a keen interest in the cultivation of fruit for which Kennet is famous, and was always renewing the stocks. He was Hon. Treasurer of the Royal Horticultural Society, and attended every show and every one of its meetings when he was in London. He never kept a regular diary, but each year he noted the appearance of the first snowdrop, and the winter aconite."

Through the years we read of the annual meeting of tenants and household, which was peculiarly knit to the family. At the celebrations of their silver wedding in 1901 the factor presented gifts, and Lord Balfour replying, said, "Few people are so highly favoured as to their servants as I have been during the thirty-six years that I have been an employer in this place, and I can associate Lady Balfour with myself in that expression of opinion. There is at least one outdoor servant who came into my father's

employment six years before I succeeded to the management of this place."

Then, turning to his household friends and servants : "Some of them have been in our service for about twenty years, and Mr. Rankin for practically thirty years. I cannot use different language to you. We feel deeply touched by the evident kindness, and as long as we can recollect and enjoy anything we shall recollect and enjoy your kindness."

It was in this atmosphere of home life that B. of B. found his rest. He spoke little of it, for his life was hidden in "its sanctities, and in that of my lady," who carried on all his plans, who directed his interest to many a sphere of good work, and was his helpmate in every sense of the word. It is impossible to look into the story of his life and not feel that he gathered his strength for public work within the gates of his "Shekinah." Much that might be said must remain wrapt in the silence that broods peacefully over the sacred things of this life.

And here it will not be inappropriate to refer to the many rumours that gave to Lord Balfour the governorship of most of the British Colonies, including the Governor-Generalship of Canada. To the first that was offered him he gave as one of the reasons against acceptance that for some years he had been concerned with Church Defence, and could not abandon the post. Probably, this with business and family reasons, always very close as we have seen to his heart, prevented his accepting, or made him avert the offer being made. He was sounded by the Prime Minister and Mr. Chamberlain as to whether he would go to South Africa in the critical years that followed the war, when Lord Milner was supposed to be going to retire from the post.

There was also at one time within his grasp the

proudest office to be held under the Crown, that of the Viceroyalty of India. The conflict of contending duties was ended by another direction being given to affairs and the actual offer was not made him. It was naturally a disappointment, even if it relieved him of almost insuperable difficulties, and he bore it in the silence of his natural reserve, and on this, as on other occasions, he turned to the work in hand with renewed energy. It is natural to follow the possibilities of such acceptances, and to fancy the individual in some one of the many posts and outposts of the Empire. No more effective Proconsul could have been selected for one and all of them. It is easier to calculate what his loss would have been to Church and State at home, and he appears to have always been held back, and on two occasions disappointed, that he might do great services to the office he held and notably within the borders of his native land.

In 1901 the Master of Burleigh came of age, and in the same year he came home from two and a half years' service in S. Africa. A luncheon was given in his honour at Kennet; Lord Mar and Kellie being in the Chair. Robert Bruce was a man of great good looks and had considerable gifts, all of them of a peculiarly Scottish type. He had conspicuous courage, he earned the title among the soldiers in the great war of "Mad Balfour," so fearlessly did he encounter all dangers. His sense of humour was of the keenest, and he could take all types of Scots off in faultless mimicry. His life and his bent of mind took after the military more than the civil side. In the family history, no one who lights on the page that records the life of the Master of Burleigh will find anything that is not in accord with the *preux chevalier, sans peur et sans reproche*.

In his speech on his coming of age, we can find a few living touches; spoken as it was in his own

county and among the personal friends, many of old standing, of the Bruces of Kennet. Lord Mar had recalled how the Master's grandfather at the age of twenty had fought on the field of Waterloo, and how in after life he had become an ideal county gentleman, a valued friend and neighbour, and he expressed the confident hope that history would repeat itself in the Master. A grace of language adorns the simple speech that the Master made in reply, which makes it probable that he would one day have added one more to the illustrious roll of eloquent Scots, who have added lustre to the walls of Parliament.

He thanked Lord Mar for what he had said of him. "It is only after a period of long absence that one begins to realise the value of weel kent faces, and weel kent places. It is with feelings of deep responsibility that I realise that I have attained to my majority, and so have entered into a more serious phase of life. The sense of my responsibility is all the more impressive on account of the traditions which are associated with the name I have the honour to bear, and the high standard which has ever been the aim of those who have gone before me.

"I am deeply grateful to Providence that I have entered upon my career under so many exceptional advantages, amongst which I value highest the guidance and affection of parents whose wisdom, benevolence and devotion to duty and to the well-being of their home and country is reflected in the esteem and regard in which they are held by all who know them both in the privacy of the home life and in the larger sphere of public duty."

The Master would not have been his father's son had he not enlivened his speech by war tales taken from his personal experience.

"Most rough times have their bright sides, and were often enlivened by ludicrous incidents characteristic of the stability and stubborn determination of the Scottish race. At Rustenburg, when superintending the carrying of ammunition up to the top of a hill where we had two guns and to which they could not get the ammunition up in any other way, the men had all been warned about the danger of dropping the shells. One man got his two up, and set out remarking to them as he did so, "Aye, ye heavy deevils, I'll no drap ye, but if I thocht ye wad blow me to Stirling, I wad fling ye doon."

One can conceive of the delight with which this touch was heard, delivered as it was with all the innate intimacy of the local dialect. Not for nothing did the blood of "the gay and gallant Gordons," with the courage of the Bruce, meet in the Master of Burleigh, who was the hope of his house and the pride of his family.

CHAPTER VIII

THE HOUSE OF LORDS

EPITAPH OF A JACOBITE (1845).

To my true king, I offered free from stain
Courage and faith ; vain faith, and courage vain.
For him, I threw lands, honours, wealth, away,
And one dear hope, that was more prized than they.
For him I languished in a foreign clime,
Grey-haired with sorrow in my manhood's prime ;
Heard on Lavernia Scargill's whispering trees,
And pined by Arno for my lovelier Tees ;
Beheld each night my home in fevered sleep,
Each morning started from the dream to weep ;
Till God, who saw me tried too sorely, gave
The resting place I asked, an early grave.
O thou, whom chance leads to this nameless stone,
From that proud country which was once mine own,
By those white cliffs, I never more must see,
By that dear language which I spake like thee,
Forget all feuds, and shed one English tear
O'er English dust, a broken heart lies here.

LORD MACAULAY.

THIS chapter which concerns the most notable of Lord Balfour's appearances in the House of Lords, may well begin with the valuable testimony of his countryman Lord Haldane.

It lies apart from the path of party or of ordinary politics, which present such gulfs, as between man and man. It reminds us more of the things that do abide under the surface of life, and draw all men of goodwill together, who work for the unity of the Empire.

"The Law Lords in the House of Lords had a high appreciation of Lord Balfour of Burleigh's great gift of the rare judicial qualities.

I have heard the observation that if he had been transferred straight to the judicial Bench, even without

had no time even if he had had the type of mind that works in that groove. That he had a life other than the mass of Englishmen amongst whom he moved, he was probably conscious of, because every Scot must feel that whose life is set in England. That his way of looking at things was better than that of Englishmen is also a sure possession of every Scot, and was often expressed by some humorous joke on the frailty of the English. Never a doubt troubled him as to any other way being superior to his. It was not conceit: there was with him to the end an almost childlike vanity and enjoyment in his own speeches and efforts, but when he failed to carry his purpose, he bore no resentment, and pursued his own way, undefeated in his inmost soul, and convinced his way was the better one.

One of the characteristics of his face was a frown of the most marked description, when he was not pleased with the way things were going. It was the frown of a child, petulantly displeased, and quite unconscious of the expression it gave to his face.

In 1913 he was painted by Mr. Fiddes Watt on the commission of the Church of Scotland.

The artist is said to have declared him the worst of all his many sitters. The times were not propitious. The weather was hot, and B. of B. was buttoned into his Court dress, which was on the strait side. He probably was busier than ever, and to stand still and be looked at was not according to his mind, and the picture records one aspect of his face.

One other incident, where he was in a *milieu* where he was completely understood may be recorded.

The General Assembly begins its work with a devotional service every day. Members who come in late for this exercise do not lose their seats, but their reputation is not as high as if they had been in time.

Lord Balfour was always in his place, the corner seat on the front bench, occupied by the well-known Elders of the Church. The service is preceded by a little ceremony, about which the Assembly is particular. The senior clerk calls, "Lock the door," and when that is done, members are excluded till after the conclusion of the service. On a certain day, Lord Balfour was not in his place at the service, and when the door was unlocked, and the stream of members came in, it was observed that they were headed by B. of B., and that his face wore the well-known frown. Members knew something was wrong, and they waited for events that would not be dry and legal, but might prove explosive. Before the commencement of business. B. of B. rose, the frown was still there, but lightened of its severity, in the act of speaking.

He recorded his anxiety always to take part in the service, and how punctual he always was, but on his way up, not being as nimble as in days gone by, he found himself locked out with others, and the clerk had clearly, and on the most complete evidence, ordered the door should be locked three minutes before the hour.

There was a comparison of watches. The clerk was a wise man: he made the *amende*, the frown disappeared, and the Assembly, in a chastened and yet amused mood, settled to the day's work, feeling restored to light and life, now that B. of B. was exchanging comments, punctuated by a whispered joke, to his fellow-members.

Lord Balfour of Burleigh was chairman of the Joint Committee of the Lords and Commons on the London Water Bill, one of the biggest and most important of the many connected with Parliament over which he presided. Sometimes the saying goes that the Parliamentary Bar is too strong for the Bench; this never

applied to him who the Scots delighted to call "the distinguished son of Clackmannan." The array of counsel engaged on that Bill, which touched so many interests, was said to be the largest and most costly that had been seen in a Parliamentary committee room for years. The total daily fees ran into four figures. Lord Balfour was temporarily disabled by a sprained ankle, but he stuck to his post. "Let us get on, please," with the accompanying frown, was all that let the lawyers know that he was aware of their long-winded occupation of time; sometimes accompanied by an inarticulate movement of the lips, when dry verbosity had reached its limits. During the sittings, a leading counsel pleaded the case of the Water Companies for better terms, and he suggested that by the Land Clauses Consolidation Act they were entitled to ten per cent. beyond the ascertained value of compulsory sale. The Chairman immediately pounced upon the learned K.C. "The Land Clauses Act does not say a word about ten per cent." The interruption was abrupt to violence. But the Chairman proved to be right, and the argument was quashed. Truly, he was recognised as a strong Chairman. He had a saying of this Commission "that it consisted of nine wise men, and one fool!"

Lord Balfour took a considerable part in the Education Bill (English) of 1906. His interest was on the side of religious teaching in schools, and having teachers who acknowledged the claims of Christianity. Above all he cared for a national recognition of these claims.

He moved an amendment giving facilities if the parents of not less than twenty children desired religious teaching.

On this he made a speech of great earnestness as befitted the subject, and full of uncompromising belief in the power of Christianity.

The speech was said to have carried the amendment of the Bishop of Hereford (Percival), which was in effect to carry out Balfour's amendment in single school areas.

He received many letters of thanks. The Archbishop of Canterbury wrote the same night, 11.30 p.m. "I am profoundly thankful and it will do untold good in the country, and not merely with reference to this particular proposal. We all owe you very much." Mrs. Benson wrote: "It was so splendid, so moving, and so real, and the whole House listened with all its ears." Bishop Kenion (Bath and Wells) said: "I heard an opponent praise it highly for its peroration, but the best part of all was where he spoke with great feeling on the Faith to be taught by the teachers who had to teach it. It was delivered with great dignity, and it evidently came from deep conviction."

A contemporary writes: "Lord Balfour offered his solution in a clause dealing with facilities, which would have tended to a logical solution. Lord St. Aldwyn, who has been described by Lord Hugh Cecil as having 'a genius for retreat,' frustrated this, and he was aided by the Duke of Devonshire in charge of the Bill. Mr. Lloyd George speaks of the Bench of Bishops as if it were a dock full of convicts. To him the Upper House is the entrenchment of all wrong."

To give the words of a speech from Hansard is to be certain that no one will read them; more can be gathered of their effect from contemporary descriptions.

In 1909 Balfour of Burleigh in the private meetings of the Conservative Peers, had stage by stage resisted the inclination of the majority of Unionist Peers to throw out the Budget. To him it meant the destruction of the Constitution, and the two Houses, which he

believed to be an integral part of each other. He held the Budget to be wrong in principle, economically unsound and disastrous to the future of the country. But he recognised that the House of Commons had alone the right to deal with the question of raising the money required for national purposes by means of taxation.

He set forth the true position of the House of Lords in the Constitution—a high Tory doctrine, but one substantiated by every historical buttress. As he advanced to the table to make what was undoubtedly the high-water mark of his speeches in that House, the serried ranks of Peers gave him no cheer, the Liberals were watching, the Tariff Reformers bitterly hostile, the whole pervaded with an English stubbornness. Any one accustomed to the House of Lords knows what it is to speak to benches who are coldly silent, but Balfour must have felt in a peculiar degree alone as he stood among them. They were the men with whom and for whom he had worked all his life. His Toryism was of the kind that was not easily changed or moved. He had believed in “his party,” next to his belief in the Throne, and he saw in this action a grave menace to that part of the Constitution. It broke in pieces much on which his political principles had been built, and he moved amid the ruins of much in which he had believed. To him it was a small matter how he was received; he would give his testimony, as if it were his last. No wonder he spoke with that unadorned straightforwardness which was his. He had none of the grace of diction, nor had he the silver tongue of Lord Rosebery, who had preceded him. It was out of an honest conviction, a man who had passed through many waters, but a man who gave his earnest belief as he spoke that day. Arguments he always had, well arranged and a trifle ponderous, but though his case was argued, it

was an impassioned appeal not to wreck the fair and splendid ship of the Constitution on a submerged rock.

Speaking of Lord Lansdowne's amendment, he said : " Take it how you like, if you pass this resolution, if you make it a precedent—I care not with what safeguards you accompany it; whether you say it is only to be done on extreme occasions, or by any other safeguard—you have made a change in the practice and in the Constitution which will prevent things going on as they have gone on up to the present time. My lords, if you win, the victory can at most be a temporary one. If you lose, you have altered and prejudiced the position, the power, the prestige, the usefulness of this House."

Lord Balfour lived long enough to see every jot and tittle of his " oration " come true, but his was not a mind that cared much for that. He cared to convince the House, and failing that, he felt he had not fulfilled what meant complete loyalty to the State. He characteristically closed with a story, a well known one, but its application was new. It was the negro preacher explaining that there were only two paths, one leading to death, the other to damnation. " Then this nigger is going to take to the woods," said a voice in the audience. " I am going to take to the woods," said Lord Balfour. " His speech stands out as one of the few big performances of the debate," says one who heard it.

Another account by an English paper is not unpicturesque, and is clearly written by a Cockney. " Lord Balfour of Burleigh is Scotch of the Scotch. Looking at that ' braw, buirdley figure ' as a compatriot might picturesquely put it, the feet planted aggressively on the floor of the House, the measured words coming resonantly from a deep chest, the square-jawed face flanked by mutton-chop whiskers, and betraying a weighty sort of intelligence, it is difficult

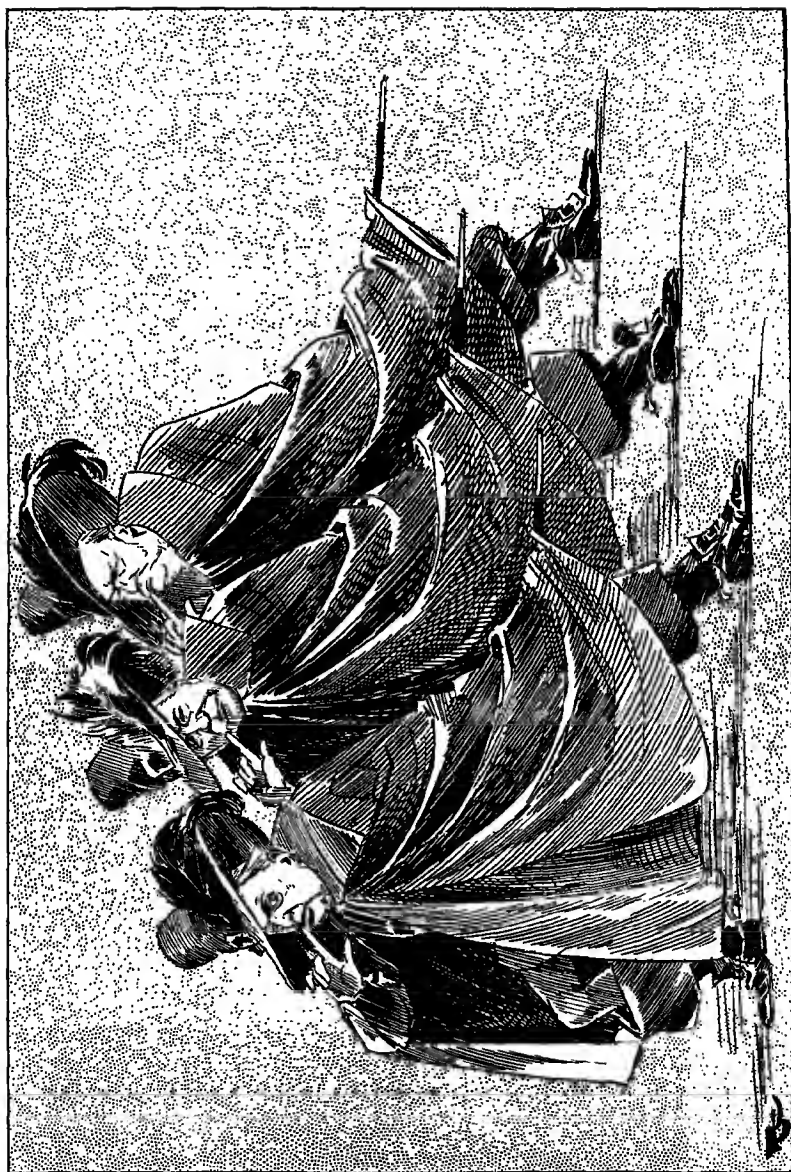
to realise that here is an actual descendant of three kings. Yet it is so. . . .”

Another account of the scene says, “There moved forward from above the further gangway a tall, massive figure, somewhat unwieldy but stamped with honesty from head to foot.

“It is related of Queen Elizabeth that in a humorous vein she would say to her older adviser, ‘My Lord Burleigh, you are burly.’ That old quip comes back again in looking at Lord Balfour of Burleigh. He is burly in every sense of the word. Burly in phrase, but also burly in character. Honestly, stalwartly burly, the very man to do his duty in a crisis of the State. Lord Balfour certainly did his duty thoroughly well. He stood at the table facing the revolutionary peers, and told them plainly what he thought of their conspiracy.

“Lord Balfour’s speech really began as he passed to the constitutional side of the argument. He suddenly seemed to become a larger and nobler figure as he advanced to the defence of the Constitution of this country.”

It was the fourth day of the debate, there was nothing new to be said, but “the Constitution” became the defence of a great personality in the hands of Lord Balfour. The laugh that swept over the House, as the story clinched the argument, was a relief to the overcharged feeling, but Lord Balfour’s “I go to the woods,” was grimly said, and all knew he meant it. Among the many letters and telegrams which he received at the time, more than one said, “Don’t go to the woods.” Lord Morley, who followed him in the debate, said that there was “a note of transparent honesty about the speech.” That was true, but honesty of purpose was the life blood of Balfour of Burleigh. Lord Farrer wrote to him: “Your fine speech so much reminded me of what I



think the finest thing Macaulay ever wrote that I cannot refrain from sending it to you, in case you do not know it. Happily the end need not be so tragic, for I believe Free Trade will emerge from this stronger than ever, and that you will lead a party of Retrenchment, of which we have hardly heard a word during these long debates."

The lines are those that have been placed at the head of this chapter.

An able Liberal peeress wrote:—

"I came to the House feeling that from the Lords point of view, '*Fais ce que dois advienne que pourra*' might well serve for the Resolution. But were I a Tory Lord your weighty words might have been the exception to the saying that speeches often change opinion, but never change a vote."

Lord Balfour in 1907 spoke against the Scottish Land Values Bill. His speech was over an hour, and he set forth how it would not work to the ultimate good of the crofter. His knowledge through his office was fairly complete, and he had a finer knowledge of his countrymen than was to be learnt from office or official records.

As the argument proceeded, a hearer under the gallery of the House of Lords said, "Heavy metal." "So heavy it has killed the Bill," retorted a Scottish M.P. standing near him.

That was precisely Lord Balfour's position in the Lords. The metal was heavy, because it was charged with exact knowledge. His outlook was to many, a narrow one. Probably, his strength lay in this. The many-sided and subtle intellect seldom has the qualities of leadership. It was always known where B. of B. was to be found, and his friends, and political foes, knew exactly what they had to deal with. It was an attitude that dissipated no strength, and in the Fiscal Controversy, every one knew on which side he

stood. As "to going to the woods," the Great War had not yet loomed on the horizon of the world—"L'homme propose, mais Dieu dispose."

These speeches and incidents are the best specimens of Lord Balfour's appearances in the House of Lords, but the same care and infinite capacity for taking pains marked all his words on other matters which came before the House. It might empty when the subjects were dull, and purely Scottish, but empty or full, Balfour stood either as Secretary for Scotland, explaining the subject to the dullest of English ears, or, when out of Office, still with the vast stores of knowledge his official life had given him, advocating ever the claims of his country and expounding the life's interests of those who were out of the way, and needed a voice raised in their behalf. We find a record how the Caithness Fishermen's Association in 1908 sent him a Resolution of thanks for the part he had taken in a recent debate in defence of the Scottish fishing population, and the trawling question in the House of Lords, "Begging that when the Trawling in Prohibited Areas Prevention Bill reaches the House of Lords, your Lordship will support it, and help the fishermen."

Again, in the same year, at the Annual Conference of Scottish Fishermen in Edinburgh, when over 18,000 fishermen were represented, "When your name was mentioned in the course of debate, it was loudly and enthusiastically cheered; it was quite a remarkable demonstration." The writer adds, "I thought it would interest you to learn from an eyewitness how grateful the fishermen of Scotland are to you for championing their cause, and defending them so ably in the recent debate on 'Trawling' in the House of Lords. The feeling of gratitude is shared by those, like myself, who represent at present the line fishermen in the Commons."

CHAPTER IX

THE CONSTITUTION

“ Give me the solid trunk, the aged stem
That rears aloft its glorious diadem;
That through long years of battle or of storm
Has striven whole forests round it to reform;
That still, through lightning flash and thunder stroke,
Retains its vital sap and heart of oak;
Such gallant tree for me shall ever stand
A great rock’s shadow in a weary land.”

“The Constitution of these Islands is the model and, I venture to say, the pride, in most of its aspects, not only of this country, but of the whole civilised world.”—BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH.

LORD SALISBURY resigned office in 1902 and he wrote to Lord Balfour of Burleigh :—

July 11, 1902.

MY DEAR BALFOUR,

Under the eye of the doctors, it was settled yesterday that the King was to go off yachting for three weeks on Monday or Tuesday—and therefore it was considered that I should hand him my seals, which I had intended to restore next week. I have accordingly done so this morning.

I will say good-bye therefore officially, thanking you most warmly for your assistance during the past seven years.

May everything flourish (as it will) which is confided to you on whichever side of the Border.

Ever yours truly,

SALISBURY.

The same evening Lord Balfour replied, and it is easy to read how profoundly his feelings were stirred.

July 11, 1902.

DEAR LORD SALISBURY,

I have received your confidential note of this date with more profound feelings of regret than I can ever make an effort to express. I dislike always changes of any kind, and this makes so great a break with the past that I cannot realise its being actually true. I am sorry on every ground. The national loss is great, and I am certain that even you will be surprised when you see how much it will find expression.

I have myself never served under any other political master and I shall never forget your unswerving kindness and forbearance.

Yrs. sincerely,

BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH.

He had indeed never served under any other political master, and his feelings towards Lord Salisbury were like those to the Queen, of a filial confidence. The two men were utterly unlike, but they each respected the limitations of the other, and both knew that the bed-rock principles on which their politics were based was not a shifting sand. The Fiscal Question was already looming large on the horizon, and Mr. Chamberlain had begun, yet again, his second unauthorised programme. It had seemed natural, and the only course that could be pursued, that Conservatives and Liberal Unionists should unite in defence of the United Kingdom and Ireland. Honest men could do no less; Balfour was a Conservative by nature, as well as by education. He had had cause deeply to distrust the doctrines of Liberalism, and some of the Unionist leaders had been foremost in attacking the national Church of Scotland. They were not to be trusted as those who had always stood, a small but determined band in Scotland, the Tories of

that country. He noted the vigour and power of Mr. Chamberlain. The two men were alike in some things. Both were of a dominant nature, both saw their objects with clear perception. The one was bound up in tradition, and intense national feeling. The other had no traditions, save those of present utility. He saw the Colonies, not as outside, but as an integral part of the Empire. Balfour with less imagination, had before him the welfare of the United Kingdom. The one was a convinced Churchman, the other had little interest in organised Christianity. Balfour was loyal to party, and to his leader—Chamberlain had the mind of a dictator, the outlook of one who will win or lose an Empire at a throw.

The resignation of Lord Salisbury brought all these things into the field of practical politics, and B. of B. was above all things practical, and cautious. His fears were soon confirmed. The old order had changed, the Constitution was shifting its axis in the hands of those who had no reverence for the ark in which it was preserved.

In June of 1902, Sir Michael Hicks Beach had written to his former colleague at the Board of Trade :

“I do not know what your House may have to say to the Finance Bill. I think it possible the Opposition may start a debate on Protection and Colonial Preference.

“Salisbury tells me he is going to take charge of the Bill. I have ventured to suggest to him that his speech should be short. I do not know what heterodox views he might let out on both those subjects, and I am not sure if he himself knows.

“Would you mind looking the matter up so as to speak if necessary.

“Goschen is getting up the subject—and will make a strong speech in favour of the Budget as a whole, and of the corn duty.”

What Balfour had to say on the Budget of 1902 may be read at length in Hansard. He quotes the price of wheat here and abroad and then states : "The main ground, however, of opposition is that the corn tax is protective in character. This was not a protective duty. To be that it must protect, and he ventured to say it was not sufficient in amount to protect the articles on which it was levied. If it had been intended as a protective duty it would have been placed upon articles which were wholly produced in this country, and were not produced abroad."

On the Finance Bill on which he had been asked to speak, he first stated the advantages of Free Trade, and he wished to range himself as one of its supporters, "but Free Traders were very easily alarmed."

It was an undoubted fact that the registration duty was in existence for twenty years after Free Trade became the recognised policy of this country, being deliberately left as one of the effects which was hardly noticed.

The fact of the matter was that the price of bread was not affected by a fluctuation of a shilling or of a certain number of pence. It had been suggested that the effect of the rise in price would be to foster the amount of grain grown in this country. He himself should rejoice if a movement in price were to have that effect, because it was one of our dangers that the amount of grain grown in this country fed so small a proportion of the population. He certainly should not desire to add artificially to the price of grain for the purpose of increasing the amount of grain grown at home. Owing to the arguments which were certain to be used against the tax it required a certain amount of moral courage on the part of the Government to propose it. They knew perfectly well that they would be opening the door to all sorts of insinua-

tions as to their designs, and that there would be diagrams all over the country, picturing the big and little loaf, whereas if the relative scale of the two loaves were drawn fairly and placed side by side, it would require a microscope to detect the difference which this tax had caused.

The Government did not fear the argument if fairly put, and they had such confidence in the fairness of their fellow-countrymen as to the propriety of all classes bearing a share of the burden which had unfortunately fallen on the country, that they did not for a moment fear the effect upon them as a political party.

He further argued that if it was agreed that some part of the year's burdens should be borne by indirect tax-payers, no other article could have been selected with greater propriety than this one.

Lord Balfour ended by saying that "He did not believe this tax was large enough to afford any preference to the Colonies, even if it were desired to give it; no case had been made out against it, and he hoped the Bill would be read a second time."

It may be best to insert here a Memorandum written by Lord Balfour in 1911. The publication of the Duke of Devonshire's *Life*, and the death of Mr. Ritchie had drawn out certain criticisms on the late Chancellor of the Exchequer that Balfour felt were totally unfair, and he drew up his recollections, and published them more shortly in *The Times*. The Memorandum is interesting as showing how he felt later, and how his attitude had stiffened, since Sir Michael Hicks Beach's letter to him in 1902.

MEMORANDUM BY LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH

"It is both incorrect and unjust to lay the responsibility for the repeal of the corn duty of 1/- a quarter in the Budget of 1903 on the shoulders of Mr. Ritchie. My recollection as to the whole circumstances is perfectly clear and distinct.

Mr. Ritchie became Chancellor of the Exchequer in August 1902, on the retirement of Lord Salisbury from the office of Prime Minister. The subject of the corn duty was mentioned in the Cabinet within the next few weeks, and before Mr. Chamberlain went to South Africa.

Mr. Chamberlain indicated his desire to use this duty as the basis of a preferential scheme for colonial corn, and in fact, generally, as the commencement of a system of preferential trading. But the subject was not very seriously discussed in all its bearings in respect that it was felt to be quite premature to attempt to settle the Budget for the ensuing year, eight months in advance.

Most undoubtedly, Mr. Ritchie took this position himself; and equally without doubt, a majority of the members of the Cabinet sympathised with him to that extent.

During the months of February and March of 1903, the matter was again discussed and as, by that time, it had become clear that there would be a surplus, and some remission of taxation would be possible, Mr. Ritchie put two alternative schemes before his colleagues. Both of these schemes included remission of a portion of the income-tax. In one case it was to be accompanied by a remission on tea and sugar, in the other by the withdrawal of the 1/- on corn. The latter had been unpopular and representations had been made to the Cabinet as to its unpopularity. On

the other hand most of us had defended it as a broadening of the basis of taxation, as in itself not an unreasonable charge and one, which although it might slightly increase the rise and retard the fall in the natural price of corn, we had all refused to admit that it had about it any flavour of a protective policy for protection's sake. In my own opinion, we had, at the time in question, practically lived down most of the unpopularity which the Radical Party sought to attach to it on protectionist grounds. I, personally, was in favour of retaining it as the manly, straightforward and consistent course, and I think I am correct in saying that the majority of the Cabinet agreed with that view.

Having regard to Mr. Chamberlain's predilections and opinions, the final decision of the question between these two alternatives was reserved until Mr. Chamberlain's return, which took place towards the end of March. In the last week of that month the matter was made the subject of discussion on two occasions in the Cabinet. It then became clear that the majority of the Cabinet would prefer to retain the corn duty and remit taxation on tea and sugar. Mr. Chamberlain took the position that he would not agree to the retention of the corn duty unless preference was made part of the policy. To that the majority of the Cabinet were not prepared to agree and, accordingly, he had his way, and the corn tax was repealed."

The new Prime Minister made as few changes in the Cabinet as was possible. Mr. Ritchie was made Chancellor of the Exchequer, which at the time was considered an conspicuous appointment. Mr. Chamberlain remained as Colonial Secretary, and the Duke of Devonshire remained in the House of Lords.

The eyes of the country were fixed on the Colonial Secretary more than on anyone else, and it was not

long before he began to fulfil the prophecy of C. B., that "Joe will go in sorrow, not in anger, and will lead an independent crusade in the country."

It would be impossible here to retell the story of the Fiscal Controversy, with its disastrous effects on the Conservative Party, and the rending split that Mr. Chamberlain caused among the members of the Unionist Cabinet. It has been related in half a dozen biographies, and retold in the Conservative defeat of 1928. All that can be done here is to trace the effect of the controversy on the mind of B. of B., that made him one of the seven ministers who resigned office, and what Balfour cared for above every office, party and old friendships.

After he had resigned and gone forth, he replied to those who wanted to enlist him in some fresh phase of the controversy, "With a great price I have bought my freedom; the price not only of office, but of friendships, and I intend to keep it."

The Conservative Party, so welded together during the last half century, was shattered to its core. He foresaw that it would take long to heal its divisions, and that in the meantime they could only hold on. In 1905 he wrote, "If Mr. Chamberlain was really loyal he would lie low too, but it is clear that he means to push everyone out if he can who does not agree with him, and I for one am not going to take it lying down. I value the Conservative party as much as anyone, but I object to seeing it tied to a policy which I think absolutely disastrous to every interest in the Empire. I would far sooner see it smashed into fragments than see it committed to taxation of staff articles of food for the sake of preference."

It was Mr. Chamberlain's methods which determined him on resignation. Balfour saw clearly that he was desirous of forming a Tariff Reform party to

propagate his burning conviction that Protection was to tie us closer to the Colonies, and his sanguine temperament saw in it the remedy for all evils.

The crisis came in September 1903. Mr. Chamberlain resigned his office. There were after that two meetings of the Cabinet. The Prime Minister published "Insular Free Trade," Mr. Ritchie and Lord George Hamilton published letters addressed to Mr. Balfour. On the 17th the resignations of Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Ritchie and Lord George Hamilton were officially announced. On the 20th the resignations of Lord Balfour of Burleigh and the Hon. Arthur Elliott followed.

To leave his chief and his party during such a debacle was intensely distasteful to Lord Balfour. For some reason, the resignation of Mr. Chamberlain was not announced. Had it been, the chief cause of Lord Balfour's distrust removed, he might have decided otherwise. The Duke of Devonshire's resignation was hanging in the balance, and the Prime Minister was absorbed in endeavouring to retain this great leader of Unionist opinion. It was a difficult position, an unprecedented one for any Prime Minister to be in, and amid its perplexities, efforts may probably have been concentrated on the wrong men, and the wrong issues. Anyway, in due course the Duke followed his colleagues, and there was some natural feeling about Mr. Chamberlain, who thus completed the uniqueness of the situation by breaking up the Liberal party, on the Irish Question, and destroying the Conservative on the well-charted shoal of Protection.

There is no record of what Lord Balfour of Burleigh felt. It was not his way to talk over what could not be helped. He had seen the disaster coming. He had done what he could to avert it. At "a great price"

he demonstrated his own attitude. There was nothing left but to bid farewell to the Scottish Office over which he had presided for eight years. It was said that Lord Balfour's tenure of office had made it impossible ever again to leave the Secretary for Scotland out of the Cabinet.

Sir Henry Craik, M.P., in some reminiscences which he has published, says, "A new epoch came to the Scottish office with the advent of Lord Balfour. Hitherto an experiment, the Office was now to become an important constituent in the whole scheme of administration."

Above all he had made himself, first and foremost, the chosen representative of Scotland, understanding her needs and her wishes, and prepared to risk everything in defence of "her rights."

All this and a great deal more he was prepared to sacrifice for Free Trade. Afterwards, when the Conservatives and Liberals both tried to enlist him on their side, he replied that he had broken with old ties and old friendships, and he was not going to be entrapped by any specious arguments. He went to Dover House for the last time. He summoned the the whole Staff, thanked them for their services, and told them that he was "demitting office." It was not his part to discuss a political situation with the Civil Service. The Staff were Scots like himself; they knew him, and each had their own thoughts.

So for the last time the stalwart, unbending figure passed down the stair, and went on its way. A Scottish relative wrote him, "I called to-day at Dover House. An old member of the Staff while I was waiting in the Secretary's room came in and remarked gently—'Great changes here now, Sir.' Evidently a sigh for good old times." The resignation was a clash of temperaments more than of principles, and

it is easy to argue that the ministers who remain at their posts, and can guide and steer through the tempests, are more effective than those who resign. Lord Balfour was not built on those lines. He made up his mind on premises that he thought true and honest. He believed that Mr. Chamberlain's campaign was disloyal both to Mr. Balfour and to the Party, and with that element in it he was not disposed to give Tariff Reform an absolutely judicial hearing. If men saw with him, he was happy, if they did not they must go their way, and he his. He could not be talked over, or round. He was no critic; his intellect was the reverse of subtle or imaginative.

This was sometimes a strength, quite as often a weakness. Balfour had many of the gifts which make men leaders, but he lacked the persuasive element, and lacking that, his influence was not as great as his other abilities warranted.

His position did not involve him in the great defeat of the Conservative Party in 1905. He had made up his mind that all the forces which Mr. Chamberlain had started must end in this way. He hoped that the Party might be built up again, and that the Fiscal Policy, with all its shades of meaning, might be allowed to sleep. He did not live to see the Party again ruined, and a Labour Government, a thing his Conservatism had always feared, in power. This period of division and strife may well be ended by a letter written by Lord Balfour to Mr. Chamberlain, before the close of that Statesman's active career.

They had exchanged sharp words over the matter of the Constitutional Club, and had never come to any satisfactory agreement over the Tariff Reform propaganda. As the years passed away, Mr. Chamberlain saw no fruit of his campaign, only a dreary track of party divisions. Nearer than ever loomed Home

Rule. Socialism was advancing, and to many Germany was casting its huge shadow over the Continent. The signs of the times were full of portents. Balfour was not blinded, at any rate to the progress of events in the United Kingdom. He had vigorously defended the Constitution, attacked in its most vital part—the two Chamber system. For Free Trade he had sacrificed the hopes and ambitions of a statesman. His language on all these current events had been as rugged and uncompromising as the dialectics opposed to him had been brilliant and subtle. And he wrote his former colleague in terms plain and unadorned; all this lay behind, and now he wrote as British Statesmen have through the ages been able to write under the Constitution in which B. of B. had faith :—

Jan. 17, 1903.

MY DEAR CHAMBERLAIN,

For the last ten days or more I have not unnaturally, as you will suppose, been watching events.

They have to me been not a little amazing, and I do not yet pretend to understand how such a situation can have been brought about.

From your point of view I am of course and always have been a hopeless heretic, but as such I understand and appreciate your line better than I do that of any one else who has figured prominently.

I like adherence to the straight line better than anything else in public life. I believe the logical unswerving stand to "faith" is the redeeming point in all that comes and goes and therefore understand I sympathise with your line.

Perhaps the fact that I differ on (nearly) every main issue of the Fiscal Policy which you advocate will not lessen in your eyes the warm personal friendship which dictates this letter. I hope and believe it will not.

The course now to be steered by the Unionist party (to which on every point save one I adhere) seems to me a very difficult one, and very liable to disaster at least logically, and I can honestly say I am sorry for it.

It does not seem to me logically defensible. I am not going for a moment to pretend that I have modified my own views, but I can offer a sincere tribute to consistency wherever I find it.

I am very faithfully yours,

BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH.

To his great friend, the late Lord Long, he wrote in 1907.

"You ask me, 'Can no man find a bridge for the reunion of those who think alike on so many subjects?' I feel that I should do very wrong to pass over in silence such a question. It would seem as if I did not care.

"I can truly say, at any rate, that I do not yield to you in your desire for re-union. The major premise that it is not only desirable in the abstract but also our bounden duty, to do everything we can consistently with character and principle to bring it about is therefore admitted.

On the other hand, it must be no hollow truce; to be of any use it must be founded on definite agreement for the pursuance of definite aims and purposes, which we all understand and can state to one another in clear and unambiguous language.

"You say, Ireland, Socialism, Land, Education, Taxation, are all ominous of danger. And it is very true; to these subjects I add the change threatened regarding the constitution of the House of Lords. If there is one thing more than another which makes it our bounden duty to stand together, it is Irish Government and loyalty to our friends there. On that, the

constitutional changes, Land, and Taxation, there is nothing on which we are not at one.

“But Fiscal Policy and differences there anent are the ostensible cause of such division and estrangement as have occurred.

“Taking that subject first, I ask you to believe that what I say, even if I do not altogether carry you with me, is not intended to be put forward in any controversial spirit, and that I do not wish to use a single word or term of reproach. I will try to take facts as they appear to me, and if I say anything which seems harsh I ask you in anticipation to believe that that is not my intention.

“Let me first define my own position. I am not a slave to abstract theories for their own sake. As a practical man I do not wish to press principles, though I may regard them of the first importance, to their utterly logical conclusion in any pedantic spirit. I certainly would not do so if practical advantages can be obtained by, to a certain extent, disregarding them.

“I am a Free Trader therefore, not so much on account of principle, not at all on account of the authority of others, but because I believe that here and now it is the best and safest policy for our country. I take as my chief maxim ‘Taxation for Revenue purposes and Revenue purposes alone.’

“I would agree to abrogate a strict adherence to it if any special modification could be proved to be of real use to the country. But any exception to it must be regarded as an exception and not made a pretext for the abrogation of the principle. The Corn Duty for which we were both responsible, which we both defended, and which I think both profoundly regretted to have to abandon, would be an instance in point. I defended it then with a whole heart, and I could defend it now as a broadening of the basis of

taxation, but it was so small in its operative effect towards any measure of Protection as not to be worth considering compared to the advantages which it seemed to me to bring about."

He then goes on to state that the position of many of those who were then uppermost in the party were the exact antithesis of all Balfour here expresses. They were powerful in the councils of the Conservative Party, and were directly opposed to that "unity" of which Lord Long wrote.

"It is not my purpose to suggest," he continued, "that either Mr. Balfour or yourself accept as your policy everything which is to be found either in Mr. Chamberlain's speeches or in the propaganda of the Tariff Reform League. Indeed, since Birmingham, one of your colleagues who joined the Government after I left it, discussing the matter with me verbally and in the same friendly spirit in which I now write to you, said to me frankly, 'Oh, we all know that Mr. Chamberlain talked a lot of rot.' But when I said that if that was his opinion it had better be said publicly, he only returned a good-humoured laugh and said that I must know that was impossible."

After saying that he finds no actual repudiation of Mr. Chamberlain's position on the part of the leaders, he sums up:—"In other words, we are told that our votes will be taken, that it is our duty to give them but that we shall have nothing in return. It is the old ostracism of Hugh Cecil at Greenwich, and if it stands alone it can only be met by the action I took along with others, in Chelsea in 1905, however distasteful that may be."

Lord Balfour then enlarges at length on the Birmingham influence on Religious Education; he always made a distinction between that and Church Teaching, but he saw an anti-Christian atmosphere.

He had a word to say on Socialism. "Everything which Mr. Balfour said at Birmingham was characterised by all his statesmanlike good sense. But the Birmingham influence will take us very far. The younger and less responsible men in the Party are going very far in attempting to beat the Radical Party by outbidding them in a Socialist direction. They are promising things which by no stretch of imagination can be described as Conservative.

"From what I have said you will see that I am unable to regard the prospect of reunion as so hopeful as I most devoutly wish it were. Those who desire Protection for its own sake are strong. They command very many of the local organisations. They are determined to use their strength to compel those who think as I do to take their whole policy or to go."

Then looking forward to the General Election, he says that the other points at issue "and the iniquities of the present Government, are put into such a position of prominence as to justify us in voting solid against the Government. I hope it may not be so, but so long as the claim can be afterwards made that Tariff Reform in its extreme sense is in such a position as to be the dominant issue, I am afraid the Unionist Party will not be able to put forward all its strength, and, what is worse, it will be fatally handicapped in getting recruits from among moderate men who voted Liberal at the last election."

Lord Balfour's general attitude is seen in the following letters :—

Writing to Lord Lansdowne on Jan. 1, 1908, he says—after acknowledging and refusing his invitation to a party dinner—

"It is true that any change in the political situation, so far as the Government and their programme and aims go, is for the worse. Whether they mean it or

not they are drifting to the ruin of civilisation in Ireland, to secular education, to a single chamber, and to all that we connote by the not well-defined term Socialism.

“ But are we in any better case ?

“ The Tariff Reform wing are driving our party on to the rocks of Protection with ever increasing rapidity, and nothing that has yet been said has operated to check them.

“ Balfour’s eloquent plea at Birmingham for unity had no effect on those to whom he spoke. They, both then and since, have renewed their claim to exclude any Unionist Free Trader from the House of Commons. Your speech in Glasgow which I noted with pleasure has met with exactly the same fate. The claim is still maintained that the official pronouncements cover the whole Protective aspect of the Tariff Reform Propaganda.

“ Unless it can be made clear that the co-operation of such Unionists as are by conviction Free Traders will be accepted by the leaders of the Unionist party both in and out of Parliament on mutually honourable terms, would it be quite honest for me if I gave way to my real desire to accept your invitation ?

“ This looks like trying to make a bargain for myself. That is really not so.”

During the election of 1910 Lord Balfour of Burleigh had in the Chelsea election written a letter supporting the Free Trade candidate, against the sitting Tariff Reformer. This had caused a great commotion. He was a Trustee and an original member of the Constitutional Club. Political Clubs have a way of advertising their obscurity. They take down and rehang pictures of political personalities. They exclude from golf courses and they eat humble pie, as events may order. On this occasion the Club informed Lord Balfour that his

conduct had been indefensible, and they had removed his name. B. of B. was suffering at the time from a severe attack of gout, and could not appear in person at the meetings, as he wished. He, however, did not take it "lying down," and protested that their action was unconstitutional.

At the same time he was more deeply moved by the treatment of Lord Hugh Cecil at Greenwich. The Chamberlainites had put up against him a Tariff Reformer, and the Government did not lift a finger to prevent it. It stirred all Balfour's sense of loyalty to one of the most brilliant members of the Conservative party, and he thought it disloyal to Mr. Balfour, whose appeal for unity had been so flagrantly disregarded. He, therefore, fought the Constitutional Club with more energy than it was worth, because behind it lay this shattering organisation worked in a despotic manner, and against all the best traditions of his own Party.

He alludes to it in a correspondence :—

"While therefore I value the continuance of our Free Trade Policy as highly as ever, while I dislike and distrust the policy never yet accurately defined which goes by the name of Tariff Reform, and while I entertain the same continuing and unmitigated contempt for efforts to obtain by coercion what cannot be got in fair argument, it seems to me impossible not to feel that new issues are being brought into our public life."

The iron had entered into the soul of B. of B. All the driving force of a Birmingham Caucus only made him more resolute against a Policy and Fiscal Creed carried on in such fashion.

He exonerated the Prime Minister, but he saw the Party machine had gone to Mr. Chamberlain, and it

did not add to his serenity when he saw good Conservatives thrown to the Tariff Reform wolves.

The 1900 Club desired his presence at a Ladies' dinner given to the Colonial Ministers, and they greatly wished for Lord Balfour of Burleigh as a member of the late Government.

He was not to be drawn in. He stated that he did not belong to the Club, and that he would meet the Colonial Ministers elsewhere. Once again he stated the faith that was in him. "I am as definitely and as decidedly determined to resist Home Rule as I ever was." The difficulty of the approaching situation will be to avoid votes got to resist "Home Rule" being counted hereafter as in favour of Tariff Reform. This, I believe, Mr. Balfour will do his best to avoid, Mr. Austen Chamberlain will not. Many of us are watching the situation with the keenest interest."

From these embittering and useless disputes he was to be set free, and to see and learn much of the other side of what Chamberlain called Fiscal Reform. His mind was not closed, and when he was called on to see things judicially and without the tergiversations of party, the results were somewhat of a surprise to those who had known Balfour only on the side of a campaign which smashed the Unity of the Conservative party, past all repair. Beside this letter may be put one that he wrote two years later, when the march of events made him alter his standpoint. He had been asked to found a branch of the Free Trade Union in the S.W. of Scotland. After stating he was as convinced a Free Trader as ever he added, "the declarations of policy made by some members of the Government, the appeals to class hatred, and the open avowals of a policy of predatory taxation far in excess of anything contained in the Budget now again before Parliament, cannot be ignored.

"I am not prepared to allow my own enthusiasm for a Free Trade policy to be used, nor am I willing to stimulate that of others, for the purpose of effecting the subversion of the British Constitution. Fiscal policies may come and go, but once make inroads into the British Constitution and the damage which will ensue will be beyond repair."

The "Constitution" ranked first with him, and between him and Birmingham a deep gulf was fixed.

From this embittering controversy Lord Balfour was to be called to a work which was congenial to him, and was a testimony to his reputation for ability and fairness coming from the Liberal party.

Lord Crewe, then Minister of the Colonies, was in correspondence with him concerning a Royal Commission to Canada, and another to the West Indies on which he was asked to act as Chairman. It was to report on the Trade routes between Canada and the West Indies, and to endeavour to facilitate them in every way.

Writing in March 1909, Lord Crewe said that the autumn would suit the Canadians best, and he hoped that time would also suit Lord Balfour. The post was acceptable and readily accepted. When the arrangements were completed, Lord Crewe wrote "I am delighted, and so will be everybody else connected with this really important business."

The Commissioners consisted of Lord Balfour of Burleigh, as Chairman, Sir John Dickson Poynder, now Lord Islington, Mr. Fielding, the Canadian Minister of Finance, Mr. Paterson, the Minister of Customs, and Sir Daniel Morris, the Imperial Commissioner of Agriculture in the West Indies, with Mr. MacCarthy.

The Commission was away for three months, and reported in a year, "an achievement," said *The Times*,

“ so unusual in Royal Commissions that it cannot be too warmly recognised. It would hardly have been possible, but for Lord Balfour’s tactful, vigorous and experienced Chairmanship.”

The Report came to definite conclusions, and clear recommendations. The four points of enquiry were on Canadian Preference on Sugar and the fiscal questions involved in Reciprocity, Steamship Communications, and Telegraphs, and the work of the Imperial Department of Agriculture in the West Indies.

It was new ground to Lord Balfour, though the subjects were familiar to him in his life of Social and Commercial Industry. Bad steamboat communication was as familiar to him in the Hebrides as on the other side of the Atlantic, and Canadian Preference, whether of sugar or other less sweet articles, had new sides to be looked at from a different angle. When the West Indian Report was published, a few months after that on Canada, the Tariff Reform papers were able to say that Lord Balfour was not only a Free Trader but an awkward critic of the Budget. Notwithstanding this, he had made an admirable Chairman, and with all his colleagues he had signed a report in favour of Preference. The Commission was sent forth to report on the promotion of closer trade relations, and the development of mutual trading facilities between Canada and the West Indian Colonies. *The Times* said: “ However little countenance the present Cabinet may be prepared to lend to remedial measures not in strict conformity with the tables of the free trade law, the mere promotion of enquiries of this kind cannot but throw some valuable light upon the case for Imperial preference in one important branch of Imperial trade; while not the most jealous Cobdenite can reasonably complain that the wisdom of our

present commercial system will, in the composition of this Commission, lack adequate support."

The Times went on to acknowledge the impartial spirit of the Government in choosing the chairman, and Liberals were called upon to reflect that while Lord Balfour was an undoubted Unionist, he was also one of the most convinced of the Free Trade adherents. "His knowledge of business is great, his experience of such chairmanships is wide."

The Times thought it well to utter a word of protest: "We could wish that the British side had been represented by one member, if only one, less strongly committed than either the chairman or Sir John Dickson Poynder (Lord Islington) to the doctrines of *Laissez faire*."

Forth went the Commission on its adventurous voyage, accompanied by photographs and descriptions. It carried all the hopes and fears of the parties left at home.

First among his welcomes to Canada was that of the Gaelic Society. "We recall your many services to Scotland, which have been strikingly public-spirited and valuable, and more particularly your sympathetic interest in the Highlands and Islands in which we are especially concerned." The Society did not only remember them "in dreams," but gave B. of B. to know he was welcomed as a friend and a benefactor. They proceeded, "We have learned to admire your Lordship's long and consistent service to the Kirk, the ancient Zion of our people—and hope your broad Christian charity will help to bring about such a happy union in our fatherland as the Presbyterians of Canada have long since consummated."

The heart of Balfour must have responded warmly to such an address.

On Sept. 20th, 1909, the Commission arrived at

Ottawa, and were given a most cordial welcome. Lady Balfour accompanied her husband to Canada, and he and she were described from every standpoint.

At a luncheon given in Ottawa to the Commission, Lord Balfour told them that he and his colleagues had come for information. "No selfish object, but with an Imperial purpose in seeking to increase the facilities of communication, and the profitable transactions between the communities of Great Britain, the West Indies and Canada."

They landed at New York, and were pressed by Mr. and Mrs. Bryce to stay with them at Bar Harbour in Maine. Mr. Gordon (now Lord Stanmore) accompanied them as private Secretary. It was "a memorable visit," notes Lady Balfour, "for Mr. Bryce had been B. of B.'s History tutor at Oxford, and they were bound together in a close tie of friendship.

They were also brother Scots, different in party politics, but united by the tie, invisible to many, that binds that nation together. The Interviewers fell on them at New York, and they are described as being somewhat ruffled. That probably is a very mild word to describe B. of B.'s feelings. The Reporters took it out in descriptive writing: "Lord Balfour is extremely tall, broad shouldered, towering head and shoulders above most people, and presenting a very impressive appearance." Lady Balfour was asked if she had joined the Suffragettes. She replied: "I have not identified myself yet—I am on the fence. Lord Balfour does not approve of it, and I don't think I shall ever go into it actively." Lord Balfour was reported to have "the manners of a Cabinet Minister," but this must have been before the interviewers "ruffled him."

More to the purpose is a report of him on leaving. "The Commission left Canada after some weeks spent

in studying the various phases of Canadian trade relations with the West Indies. There was a very frank interchange of criticism, as to how certain branches had been handled in the past, and it may lead to clearing up old grievances. Much of the credit will be due to Lord Balfour for the part he has played in the conduct of the enquiry. He has delighted business men by the clearness of his judgment, the interest of his information, and his unfailing tactfulness, qualities all of which were much to be desired in one who stood, in a very special sense, as a sort of umpire between the representatives of contending if friendly interests. So far as his part in it is concerned the Commission has already proved a success."

Early in 1910 the Commission reached Jamaica. Lady Balfour had returned home from Canada, as family affairs needed her presence.

The Hon. Mary Bruce was to have been of the Jamaica party, but this did not materialise, her father explaining that "she had thrown him over for another man." This was her happy engagement to the late Major John Hope of Pinkie, who in 1912 was to rejoice the heart of his Constitutional father-in-law by winning the Midlothian seat at a by-election.

Of two things B. of B. was an implacable foe: platitudes was the first, after-dinner controversy the second. There was no appropriate exchange for a platitude, and controversy spoilt the process of digestion. In this sense B. of B. was not a good talker; he had no interest in the intellectual delights of conversational controversy. If women were present, he preferred the exchange of banter and story-telling; if they were not, he was not interested in the mind of another. Perhaps he knew his patience had its very narrow limits, and he preferred to keep all of it for the big affairs of life. He announced his views early

in Jamaica, foreseeing an effort to capture his serious attention "out of office hours."

When they came to British Guiana, his interests were enlisted by St. Andrew's Church, belonging to the National Church of Scotland. A reception was organised for him there, at 10 a.m. B. of B. must have felt that he was attending the General Assembly at home. The Rev. R. L. Macnie gathered the scattered Ministers and people around. The Church had been built by the Dutch in 1819. They had thirty-seven communicants, presumably all Scottish and Dutch. The Church had grown and prospered. With other of the Islands, British Guiana had fallen on bad times. They would not have been Scots, had they not referred to the hopes raised in them by the Royal Commission. B. of B. was at his best in replying. He was always constitutional in his approach; he held out the hope that if the Report of the Colonial Committee to the Assembly referred to his visit to the Island, he would bear testimony that he knew the Church, and the good Scots gathered within its fold.

The Official Report of the Commission might lie on the shelves of the Colonial Office, but the living Commissioner did not forget them in his place in the Assembly, of which he told them, with pardonable pride, he had been "thirty-six years a member."

Two or three anecdotes of the tour have been preserved. In the lounge of one of the Government Houses he sat listening to the social talk round him. At a late hour, a guest was making herself, as she hoped, particularly agreeable; as time passed she felt somewhat hurt when his Lordship failed to make any reply. Looking round, she was considerably nonplussed to find that he had fallen soundly asleep.

B. of B. had a great capacity in this art. He

practised it in the Lords, and in the Assembly, but if anything occurred that was really relevant he had an uncanny power of waking, and fixing his eye, sometimes with a portentous frown, on the speaker. Then he might know that B. of B. was gathering "heads" for a reasoned reply.

At the same reception where he played the part of Sleeping Beauty a gentleman, holding Free Trade views, thought it a fitting occasion to air them before one who had been announced as an ardent Free Trader. His Lordship listened in moody silence; it was out of "business hours," and B. of B. was trying to be social. The talker paused to ask, "Don't you think so?" Balfour replied with dry quietness, "I don't know. Circumstances alter cases. I believe were I in your position, I would be a strong Protectionist." A verbose witness who was somewhat severely handled by the Chairman indignantly described him as "Burleigh Bully."

The two Reports were considered of the utmost importance. The Press united in criticising and doing justice to the Report of such a Free Trade Commission. Mr. A. J. Balfour as leader of the Unionist party dealt with it, and showed all its meaning for Colonial Preference. *The Times* rejoiced to find that it had been wrong in deprecating the appointment of Free Traders. It is impossible here, and at this time to do full justice to these Reports or to trace all the energy, fairness and hard work which was put into them. Balfour's own feelings were expressed in a letter to a friend. He saw the position into which he has been put, and he thoroughly enjoyed it. He disliked "bolted, barred and slammed doors" as much as anyone, and if he had been found out slamming doors a little noisily, he could see the position had its humours, and had he been Colonial Secretary instead of the Radical Mr.

Chamberlain, where might "Insular Free Trade" not have taken him? The letter is as follows:—

1910.

"It is quite impossible for me to say adequately how much I personally have enjoyed doing the Commission, and I believe I have made a life-long friendship with my two Canadian colleagues.

I think it is quite likely there will be a certain amount of chaff in Tariff Reform circles over some parts of our Report, and that attempts will be made to make fun of me in that connection. I am quite prepared for it, but I am of opinion that there is nothing in our Report which any broad-minded Free Trader should refuse to make his own.

Nothing was remitted to us as to the fiscal policy either of the Mother Country or of the Canadian Dominion.

They differ: the one is for Free Trade, the other is for Protection. The view that I took of it was, and is, that we had to accept the conditions which we found existing on the two sides of the Atlantic respectively and to do our best to fit them in, the one to the other (without criticising them on their merits), so as to do the best we could, under all the circumstances, for the British Empire.

Fielding and I had all that side of things through our hands very early in our Canadian trip when we had long railway journeys together and he asked me, knowing that I am an out and out Free Trader, what attitude I should assume.

I replied to him that I had high authority for saying that the Sabbath is made for man and not man for the Sabbath, and that in my opinion abstract principles are excellent servants, but very bad masters, and, that while nothing would induce me to say that any form of Protection was a good thing in itself, I was

quite prepared to derogate from extreme Free Trade views when the refusal to push them to their extreme logical conclusion could, on their own merits, be proved to be salutary and useful.

With this explanation I hope it will interest you to read our Chapters on Reciprocity, the articles selected for preferential treatment, and on the loss of revenue involved in the grant of Preference.

As I have said, I think there is nothing in them that a broad minded Free Trader cannot accept.

We have interesting chapters on the work of the Agriculture department, on Steamship and Cable Communication, and on Sugar Preference. I am sanguine enough to hope, and I will add even to believe, that we have gone far to settle differences on all these matters. I believe we have evolved a scheme which will make peace between the West Indian sugar producer and the Canadian refiner."

Lord Balfour concluded :

" It seems to me, having regard to the difficulties under which we started, too good to be true, but I shall ask you to watch for the Report when it comes out and then perhaps you will be able to give us your blessing in public."

CHAPTER X

THE UNITY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES

“ Bless’d are they in Thy House that dwell,
They ever give Thee praise;
Bless’d is the man whose strength Thou art,
In whose heart are Thy ways.”—Ps. lxxxiv.

WE now come to some account of the movement for union in Scotland between the separated Presbyterian Churches. Such an account is necessary in anything that pretends to give a portrait of this true “Unionist” in things spiritual. It has been seen how Lord Balfour of Burleigh fought the Disestablishment movement in the realm of politics; that controversy now lay a heap of dead ashes, but he could remember the generation of the Disruption, and the lesson had sunk into his whole being. Again and again through the years, when engaged on work within the Church of Scotland, or on behalf of its wider influence, he noted the schisms which weakened her outward life, and, yet more, so often corroded her Christian spirit.

At a meeting in Stirling he said: “I hope that under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, we may try as we have never tried before to look more at the points of agreement, and less at the points of difference; that we may learn to take each other at our best instead of at our worst; that in consequence the Christianity of Scotland may flow in a broader channel and in a deeper stream than is the case at the present time.”

Everyone concerned with Scotland and its churches

must have found an echoing response in their hearts. None knew better than Balfour the difficulties that beset the path.

Ecclesiastical controversies are the last to die out, and the Churches had for long forgotten how to take "each other at our best, instead of at our worst."

Time was doing its work. "Without death, you cannot have progress," said an observer of the struggle. Ancient leaders were passing to their rest, ancient watchwords were losing any meaning that they once had, or what was more to the purpose, people began to wonder what they had meant.

Through all the years, with their bewildering and manifold occupations, Balfour kept "unity" steadily in view. "Without haste, and without rest," he watched the unfolding of the drama and silently absorbed the lessons which each stage made evident.

There followed the Fiscal disunion, and in that strife of tongues, Balfour set his heart more and more on Church union. He did not forget it amid the glories of the Fall in Canada, and the faithful Highlanders there bade him remember it. Amid the feasting and welcome of New York, and on to the West Indies with its important work, still he carried and cherished this great hope.

It is the lodestar to which he always returns, among the varied occupations of his life. It is difficult to know on what to fix the attention as a biographer. One finds him immersed in the affairs of the Fever Hospital, or the Sanatorium at Davos, which was raised by his efforts. Again, he is absorbed in the management of the Estates of the Duchy of Cornwall. He is sought as Chairman and Arbitrator in every department of commerce and industry. Matters which do not lend themselves to "light reading," but are tabulated in many a Blue Book or Report.

His power of work was unfailing, his grip of the essentials in whatever he was employed to do, unflagging.

There was also his Parliamentary work, which at all times was heavy—Temperance and Education, Land Values, on all of which he was an authority, always for Scotland, and often over wider fields.

There is extant a list of his engagements in 1911, all of which are outside the House of Lords, from which he was seldom absent.

Oct. 18. To Edinburgh. Work. To London Tuesday night.

„ 19. P. and O., St. Paulo, etc.

„ 20. Three meetings. Same night to Glasgow.

„ 21. Harold Cox lunch and speech.

„ 22. Poor Law Conference and speech.

„ 24. To Edinburgh. Poor Law Conference and speech. Carnegie Trust, Meeting *re* King's Memorial.

Evening. Speech at Home Conservative League.

„ 25. Meeting of Aged and Infirm Ministers' Fund.

Ditto Pensions Committee. Business with Dr. Wan *re* Book on Presbyterianism for Cambridge.

„ 26. Fortnightly Meeting. Important meetings.

„ 27. Meeting at W.O. *re* Army Chaplains. Great Northern Board Meeting.

„ 28. General Meeting of San Paulo Board and speech as Chairman.

„ 29. Home.

The last word meant Scotland and Kennet. I find a note on the same page which gives this whirlwind chronicle, that “he had been forty years Chairman

of Clackmannan Parish Council," and "Home" often meant simply a more congenial site for his labours.

An English barrister, hearing of the early poverty and hard work of an eminent Scottish lawyer at the English Bar, exclaimed, "It is only your detestable Scottish stomachs that can stand it." Certainly, few constitutions could stand such a life, and whether the austerities of climate, or the hardy frames engendered by the same, lies at the root of Scottish success, is always a subject for debate, and of southern envy.

Perhaps the most amusing and interesting of his outside arbitrations was the Caldey Enquiry held in 1913. A Benedictine community had set up their residence in the Isle of Caldey, S. Wales. In due course they and their Abbot went over to the Church of Rome. The question then was to whom the Church property belonged. Some of it had been given on the insecure understanding that the community remained in the Anglican and Protestant faith. Lord Halifax was concerned in the case, and expressed his deep disappointment at the secession of the community. Something practical had to be done, and at his instance Lord Balfour, with assessors, was appointed as chairman. Both parties agreed beforehand that they would adopt whatever decision Lord Balfour should arrive at. "He is our Lay Archbishop, you know," as someone said at the time.

The Enquiry went smoothly forward. Every assistance was given by the community, and the Abbot and the Lay Archbishop became great friends. Lord Halifax wrote to him: "I am so grateful for all you did yesterday. Nobody could have been so good, or so helpful. Thank you a thousand times. It is well there are people like you in the world."

Some years later, Lord Buckmaster's first Bill on the marriage Law, as it affected England, was being passed through the House of Lords. It was severely though not effectively attacked. Lord Parmoor allowed himself to make a completely ignorant and wholly irrelevant attack on Scottish morals, and the Presbyterian Church. It even brought up a Scottish Archbishop in defence of Scotland and its Church. Lord Balfour of Burleigh was in his place, but silent. Later, an indignant hearer asked him why he had not risen and refuted the calumny? B. of B. cast a gloomy eye on the questioner and then let it range round the benches of Bishops and Peers. "They are in a difficult position. We shall want their help later. Come, now, and have some coffee."

The "difficult position" always appealed to him, but it is given as an illustration how constantly before him was the question of union, and how he would not dissipate any force which he might need when the battle was set in array.

Some outline must be given of the progress of events as they concerned "union."

It was in April 1907 that Dr. Scott brought forward an overture for union, in the Presbytery of Edinburgh.

There never was a man more fitted to work with Lord Balfour than was Dr. Archibald Scott. The business faculty was developed in both, and neither was lacking in Scottish caution. When Dr. Scott appeared in Parliamentary circles, in connection with the Formula and Clause V, the Prime Minister declared that only Scotland could produce the type. It was not the priestly but the practical man of business: "he looks like a prosperous banker," was his amused comment. Dr. Scott shares with Lord Balfour the honours of this long-drawn debate. The

work of their joint hands is set forth in the book, *Dr. Archibald Scott and his Times*, by the Hon. Lord Sands.

The historic decision of the House of Lords in the Free Church case was pronounced upon August 1, 1904. It was clear that further Parliamentary action would be necessary with regard to the property of both Churches. On November 16th, at a meeting of the Church Interests Committee, the subject was introduced by Lord Balfour, of course in consultation with Dr. Scott. The Church was then concentrating its attention on the proposed alteration of the Formula. Lord Balfour, writing in May 1905, says that there are difficulties of a tactical nature ahead, but the Committee had unanimously left in his hands the preparation of the Report. He added he was most anxious to carry Dr. Scott with him, and closed with the information that the text of the Government Bill was shortly forthcoming. The General Assembly, after a keen debate, approved the proposed Government Bill.

The Assembly at this time undoubtedly thought it would be a Bill designed for its own relief, and did not contemplate that relief being embodied in a Clause (Clause V) of a Bill relieving the United Free Church.

Those who know Parliament could never have thought the Government would face it with two Bills dealing with the Presbyterian Churches in Scotland. The mind of Parliament would have reeled under such a shock to their total ignorance of all the subjects dealt with. One was more than enough for its intelligence.

Clause V irritated the Liberal purists and Dis-establishers, but it roused all the latent theological interest in the Scots, who at that time were numerous

in the Cabinet, and Scotland was, as usual in ecclesiastical matters, keenly alive and interested.

The Bill which was presented to Parliament was to give the United Free Church relief from the legal disabilities imposed on it by the decision of the Court of Appeal in the House of Lords; with it was incorporated "Clause V" which relieved the Church of Scotland from any doubt as to her own relation to her standards. The Church had always claimed her spiritual freedom; thus it was only to reaffirm the principle.

Considerable objection was taken to the course of embodying "Clause V" in the Bill dealing with the property of the United Free Church. It was thought that it might imperil the whole Bill. The Clause was somewhat violently opposed by the Scottish Liberals, notable among them being Mr. Bryce, afterwards the well beloved Lord Bryce, who was said to be the most popular Minister that we had ever sent to Washington. The *Westminster Gazette* went "clean wud" on the matter and other Disestablishing elements joined in.

The subject now has been superseded by further legislation, but at the time Lord Balfour saw in it the gateway to a greater union, whereon the Church might find a stepping-stone to higher things.

It was, for once, a wonderful combination for Scotland and its Church. Would that such had been in sight in the year 1843. The Prime Minister was Scottish, Lord Balfour of Burleigh was a leader and in the deepest counsels of the Church. The Attorney-General was not only Scottish but had introduced a Bill known by his name, to enable union to be effected. All of them were theologians as only Scots can be. All, deeply interested in the relations between Church and State, believing that in the word National was

to be found the expression of the spiritual beliefs of a people.

Behind them were the "elect" members of Scottish constituencies. Around them, an army of spiritual wire-pullers, laymen and ministers, did valiant service for Clause V outside Parliament. The walls of Jericho must fall before such a blowing on the horns. The Prime Minister and Mr. Bryce held high controversy, listened to by the English members as if it were a study in Greek, but thoroughly enjoyed by the Scots present. The Bill passed with triumphant majorities, and the Church of Scotland marched on to victory, the United Churches got back a portion of their worldly goods, and the vision of a larger union loomed more brightly.

It was a happy moment for B. of B. If he could not agree on Fiscal Policy, he and the Prime Minister saw eye to eye on the Scottish Church, and B. of B. knew and deeply respected the Prime Minister's work on behalf of the National Church. He carried the Bill through his Cabinet, and amid the pressing cares of his Party's divisions and controversies, till he saw it safely "established."

That autumn Mr. Balfour resigned office, but he knew the Scottish Churches Bill was safe, and to his unself-seeking care the Church will ever owe this first step to the unity she still cherishes as a vision. How the Bill would have fared with the Liberal majority and its Disestablishing supporters, it is easy to forecast.

"You Scots are a wonderful people," said John Burns in the Lobby to a Scot who was present after the final division. "You get everything that you want in some way or another. Why do you put up with so many one-roomed dwelling houses in Scotland?"

After the defeat of the Conservatives in 1905 the Church was driven into herself, and for some years headway was made only by cautious steps and careful soundings. The United Free Church was disillusioned and sore; time and again the advances of the Church of Scotland were, to use Lord Balfour's word, "snubbed again." He wrote to Dr. Scott that the difficulties were "terrific." But those who were watching the meetings of the United Free Church Assembly heard, amid many old voices, many new ones arising. The ministers and elders were getting into step with the feeling of their congregations.

It is now part of the routine in the time of the General Assemblies that deputations from either Church should cross the narrow road, and express in each other's hearing their hopes and aspirations for a brighter day dawning. The Church of Scotland had given up the attitude of welcoming the return of an "erring daughter." The United Free Church by ever diminishing minorities had abandoned the attitude that only in Disestablishment could Union be found. Scots are proverbially as proud as they are poor, and that each party should give up something was congenial to the national temperament.

At last, when reports came flying across the way of the congenial atmosphere pertaining in the United Free Assembly, the Moderator, the Right Rev. Dr. Wallace Williamson, Dean of the Thistle, took with him a small deputation and appeared on the floor of the Disruption Hall. It was an occasion not to be forgotten by those who witnessed it—a small but also a great thing, and the one touch needed to bring together the common humanity of the Scot.

"Not even ecclesiastics can go on threshing wheatless straw for ever," has been truly said. It was the custom to wait each other's position, and to manœuvre

for a day in which the one church could reply to the church interests of the other. The same day in the Assemblies of 1912 was fixed upon, and in the United Free Assembly out of nearly one thousand members only thirteen were found to support an antagonistic policy. The note of both churches was "one of caution coupled with confidence."

Lord Balfour of Burleigh as Convener of the Church Interests Committee gave in the Report, and he moved a Deliverance in favour of Union. The vital words were these: "The General Assembly, recognising that the issues involved vitally affect the religious future of the country and are of the greatest importance to its well-being, commend the whole subject of Presbyterian reunion to the anxious and prayerful consideration of all members of the Church." It was a mandate to the Church to go forward on the road to Union. The Assembly was asked to confer with the joint Committee. This was an important Committee which had been set up, of two hundred members, a hundred from each of the Churches who were looking for Union. They had been working together for some years, and critical and often hopeless seemed their labours, but the work done made a sure foundation for the upbuilding of the Churches concerned.

There are evidences that never did Balfour prepare a speech in a more serious spirit, or with more care. The heads are typed, and not as usual written by him in a hand of which only he was master. It was a critical time in the Church's history, and Scotland knew it. Edition after edition of the evening papers were printed as the debate proceeded. The Assembly was packed from floor to gallery, full as it had never been before, in the memory of that generation, packed as it was not to be again till the Great War burst over the land.

"A remarkable growth of opinion in favour of a United National Church" was said to be abroad. It was reflected within the Assembly. When B. of B., the defender of the ancient Faith, the upholder of Union through so many barren years, appeared in the doorway, holding his Assembly book and papers close, with an anxious frown, and shouldering his way rapidly to his accustomed seat, a great cheer burst from the whole Assembly and rolled in succeeding waves for several minutes.

When he was called upon by the Moderator to present the Report with the Deliverance, the cheers again broke out, and it was several minutes before he could go on.

B. of B. was never introspective; "let us get on with the business," was his outlook, but as he had to pause while fathers and brethren acclaimed him, he must have felt he possessed the only reward a leader cares for, the possession in fullest measure of the love and confidence of his countrymen.

His opening words were those of remembrance. The Very Rev. Dr. Norman Macleod, one of a great ecclesiastical family, had died. "We have lost a faithful and loyal servant of the Church, a staunch friend, and a great protagonist in the cause which has brought us together to-day." He then retraced the steps taken by the Churches. He told how in 1909 the General Assembly of the United Free Church had reciprocated the earnest hope; "they had declared their readiness to enter into unrestricted conference on the existing ecclesiastical situation, and the great causes which keep the Churches apart, in the earnest hope that, by God's blessing, misunderstandings and hindrances may be removed and the great object of Presbyterian reunion in Scotland thereby advanced." During the year 1909-10, the Committee dealt with

the question of "Spiritual Independence and the National Recognition of Religion." On the joint Committee and its labours much good spade work had been done. Its proceedings were unreported, its spirit was that of reconciliation. Time and again, the cause seemed nearly wrecked, for there could not but be extremists on either hand. It was plucked from the burning by the resolute tone and temper of men of good-will in both Churches.

In the year 1911 all that could be said of the abstract principles concerned, were laid before the Assembly. So much for present history, but the speaker took them over a wider field of Church history. Scots love to find their feet firm on National history, and Balfour was at pains to tell them that the move towards Union made in 1907 was "the traditional policy of the Church of Scotland for at least two generations."

He was not only speaking to his own Assembly, he had the other "over the way" in his mind. He argued well against Disestablishment, and showed how that course could satisfy neither Church. "The only possible way is for Parliament to recognise our freedom as contained in a new constitution, and everything inconsistent with that acknowledgment should be repealed."

He passed on to the Ideal: "Our Ideal is a really National Church with toleration and fair play to everybody else. The Church shall be as National as we can make it, the Toleration as complete as possible—that is the Ideal for which we have been working."

The crux of the position—Freedom by Alliance—he then put before the Assembly, and he paid a generous tribute to the Procurator of the Church: "He has been able to do it by his legal knowledge, by his

assiduous attention to the meetings of the Committee, and he has in a marked degree managed to get the confidence and trust of those who have been conferring with us on the other side." He spoke of the discussions that must follow and the experiences of a lifetime were gathered into his earnest words. "In all our public discussions, whether political, ecclesiastical, or educational—and I have taken part in a great many of them in my time—there is too much of personal recrimination. The man who succeeds the best is the man who hits his opponent hardest. Some people seem to think that you cannot be wholly loyal to your own side unless you imply that you think the other side are a set of abandoned scoundrels. The temptation is great to give your opponent 'beans.' It partakes too much of the maxim of David Harum, an American horse dealer: 'Do to the other fellow what you think he would like to do to you, but take care you are first, in case he forestalls you.'

"I want to get rid of that method, and to get a little nearer, as near as our imperfect human nature will allow us, to the original maxim laid down by our Master in the New Testament. Don't be always contemplating the most foolish of the other side. If there is a reproach upon Scottish ecclesiastical history, it has been that we do not sufficiently appreciate what I venture to call here in plain terms—the sin of schism."

From that point he led the Assembly to think of the great Duty, and the magnificent task before them.

"Even 1843 was but an incident regrettable, but still an incident in the history of the Church and Nation. Neither side was wholly wrong. Do not let us allow the shadow of the past always to dominate our course. Let the dead past bury its dead.

Let us enlarge, let us repair, let us modernise our house, but let us preserve the continuity, let the essence remain, and make the toleration wider. Let us look at things from the practical side. Let us learn from the severe lesson of actual fact. We all acknowledge that a way of union ought to be found.

"The sequence of the necessary steps which we suggest are, first, to endeavour to settle a relation between Church and State. Then to settle our constitution. Then to see that that constitution is approved, and that there is a probability of agreement.

"Then we may consider whether there is such a prospect of success as to justify us in approaching Parliament, and then will come, as I hope many of us will live to see, the final consummation of Union. The Church would be Protestant; it would be Free; it would be National. Is all this to remain a dream?

"It may be so; but let the country return the answer. Some of us will be better, some of us will be richer, some of us will be happier in that we have seen a vision and dreamed a dream."

Lord Balfour of Burleigh then explained the object to be kept before the Nation. He said he had tried to state history, so as to explain the position of all concerned, and he put what we could honestly say to our friends—"We have tried to appreciate your difficulties; we have traced the cause of the sad misunderstandings to their source. We recognise your dread of Parliamentary interference, and we have done our best to meet it. The broken pieces may not be put together at once, but here and to-day we stand for the performance of that which is alike a duty and a privilege.

"It was not compromise that was aimed at: it was reconciliation.

"We are the common servants of our common Master. If there is to be victory, it must be a victory for peace, a victory for that Master and His cause.

The object we have in view is that all of us may be more efficiently ranged under His Banner that we may carry His flag to victory, a result which will rejoice the hearts of Christian people, not only at home but in many lands."

This was no oratorical rhetoric, it was a simple statement of the position, delivered with fervid earnestness. The tense Assembly listened, too spell-bound to cheer, but there was at its close a murmur as from men awed into stillness.

He was seconded by Dr. Wallace Williamson in a speech perfectly adapted to lead the Church forward on the path pointed out by Lord Balfour. He also had sought for union and peace. "If anything could further that great end, he said, it was the earnestness, the wisdom, and conspicuous sincerity of that noble speech which they had had from Lord Balfour that day.

It was an utterance right worthy of a Christian statesman whose devotion to the Church and love of his country had been conspicuous in that General Assembly for so many years, and never more conspicuous than to-day.

The speeches were closed by the Procurator of the Church, now Lord Sands. The Procurator is a great institution in the General Assembly. Worth to them a whole bench of Bishops, Sheriff C. N. Johnston had built up the work between the two Churches as ably as his two colleagues. It now fell to him to deal with the amendments with which the Deliverance and Memorandum were beset. If it was to be effective, the Report must have the unanimous support of the Church. Skilfully, and above all in a conciliatory manner, each and all were dealt with. Still in breathless silence the Assembly waited, and one by one the movers withdrew their motions, and the Report of the Committee, with its historic memo-

randum, remained the finding of the moment. Members sprang to their feet and gave vent to their long-pent-up feelings. B. of B. had remained seated at the table, he had done his part, and his great effort was over. Amid the confusion and excited noise, it was noticed he had not risen. His head rested on his hand, for he was in the grip of an overmastering emotion.

It was his Pisgah. He had seen a glorious glimpse of the Promised Land, though he was not to live to see the promise fulfilled. The vision was to tarry, but the reward of his life's labour was in sight. Dr. Wallace Williamson had reminded the Assembly that it was in 1875, nearly forty years back, that Lord Balfour had made a speech on Union in the General Assembly, almost as soon as he was elected to sit, in which he said, "while not sanguine of present success, if they did not try they certainly could not succeed." There were few then in either Assembly who wished to see any attempt at union. Through the long years he had wrought and worked, and now it was a thing accomplished in the spirit, if not in the letter. "Hasten gently," his motto, and his practice.

It is a merciful dispensation that coming events do not cast their shadows before them. The Assembly was to wait till the nation had passed through its great ordeal, tried and welded yet closer together in unity and concord. But, as the fathers and brethren faced the years that lay before them, they must often have cast a thankful glance back on the Assembly of 1912, and blessed those who had led them from strength to strength and set their hands to heal their schism and backsliding.

" Pray that Jerusalem may have
Peace and felicity;
Let them that love thee and thy peace
Have still prosperity."

CHAPTER XI

BROKEN THREADS OF PEACE

God the all-terrible King, who ordainest
Great winds Thy clarion, the lightnings Thy sword,
Show forth Thy pity on high where Thou reignest,
Give to us peace in our time, O Lord.

God the All-wise, by the fire of Thy chastening
Earth shall to freedom and truth be restored,
Through the thick darkness Thy kingdom is hastening,
Thou wilt give peace in Thy time, O Lord.

THE historian of the future will find ample material in the lives of public men in which to reconstruct what the country cared for, and was thinking about, in the ten years before the Great War broke up the foundations of human society.

In some departments he may find organic causes at work, which led ultimately to the clash of war. In others there were no signs or portents. Dark as was the political horizon, few thought of the danger of a world-wide war as they concentrated their thoughts on Home Rule, the resistance of Ulster, and the breaking up of all Constitutional government. Strikes disturbed the industrial world, and a great mass of voteless citizens were asking, none too gently, for what had been so long withheld. But there was plenty of money, trade was prospering, people were spending, and capital had not yet been pronounced one of the seven deadly sins. Society was at its gayest, the world was good, and was made for enjoyment.

Political life was still an interesting game, the

Stock Exchange was rich, speculation was safe, "security," was the word that ruled Great Britain.

In 1912 Lord Balfour of Burleigh and Mr. Austen Chamberlain paid a visit to Russia. Lord Balfour was Chairman of the Imperial and Foreign Corporation. The visit was watched with great interest in both diplomatic and financial quarters. "It is hoped," said the Press, "that it will assist, not only to expedite communications with the far East by way of Siberia, but to open up new fields for British Capital and Industry. The flow of Western Capital towards Russia is, in fact, just now becoming marked."

They were the guests of honour at a banquet given by the Russian and English Bank, the first English Bank which had been opened in St. Petersburg. Those present included Mr. Kenshin, Governor of the State Bank, and all the financial notabilities in St. Petersburg. Here Lord Balfour spoke of the extreme cordiality that they had met with on all sides, and he expressed his great admiration at the evidences of Russia's financial and industrial revival.

M. Davidoff, chief of the Credit Chancery, speaking for the Government, referred to the marvellous change in the relations between England and Russia. It augured well, he said, for the prospects of the Russian and English Bank as a factor in the economical union of the two countries. They were the guests of Sir George Buchanan in the Embassy, and both expressed the intention of frequently returning to Russia.

To the survivor it must seem like a dream visit of the Arabian Nights, and the days of Russia's financial ruin were hid from their eyes. Capital was still a necessary element to prosperity, and had not been destroyed in a sea of blood and rapine. The travellers

were not long away, and B. of B. returned to take his place in the General Assembly and in the House of Lords, where the turbid waters of the Irish Question was occupying the attention of Statesmen.

During this year's activities B. of B. had made an excursion into the realm of literature, not a usual line with him, but he had been asked by the Cambridge University Press to write a Manual in their Science and Literature Series.

It was called "The Rise and Development of Presbyterianism in Scotland." It does not transpire under which head it was published, but B. of B. undertook the task and accomplished it, as only a layman and a Presbyterian could write on the subject. He was anxious that nothing unfair should find a place in the book. He sent the MS. to his great friend, Bishop Talbot, with a request that he would tell him whether he thought anything he had said relating to Episcopacy was misleading. The Bishop approved of the whole book.

Within the compass of 172 pages there was no room for anything but "business," and admirably did B. of B. write the unadorned tale.

The book was reviewed by the *Guardian*. It noted his adherence to a modified bench of Bishops, but the work was "too kind to the Covenanters." If he had not been a Covenanter himself, the manual would never have been written: for all Scottish Presbyterians are shadowed by "Covenanted Scotland."

He was pleased with the reception his book met with. He distributed copies to his friends, and was quite impervious to criticism, even if there had been any. He had written history, fairly and truly, and, as usual, the views of others were not interesting to him.

From the year 1910, his life was even fuller of the

affairs of the Scottish Church than before. The Assemblies of 1913-14 "hastened gently" on their path of conciliation. Memorable scenes and debates were held in each Assembly, and ever the Church went forward, her spirit enriched, her hands strengthened on the road for peace.

Things did not always go exactly his way. We find a note to his wife in 1913: "Tremendous night of it. Not home till 11.30. A good deal of controversy, and it undid all I could do." But it was a momentary check, for Dr. Wallace Williamson declared, "that Church Union has been put on the rails again, without a jolt"; and Balfour must have signalled success to Lambeth, as a telegram came back from a friend and a Scot, "Heartfelt and thankful congratulations. Laus Deo. Cantuar."

The presentation of his portrait, which had been commissioned by the General Assembly, took place in 1913. The sittings accomplished, the "worst of sitters" appeared at the gathering of the subscribers in a more genial mood. In fact, his face, always expressive of the mood that possessed him, presented a pleasing contrast to that of the portrait when it was unveiled. It was a gathering noteworthy not only of the Church but of broad Scotland. The late Very Rev. Dr. Mitford Mitchell made the presentation on behalf of the subscribers. "The response to that testimonial had been generous, cheerful, and widespread. From Maiden Kirk past John o' Groat's to Ultima Thule, Ministers and Elders had rejoiced to have a share in this tribute to one who had never spared himself, and had shown so deep a love for the old Church of his fathers during his long and strenuous career. Might he add that at the bottom of his faithful service and its source was a deep and true religious life—an intense belief in the fundamental

doctrines of our faith, and an earnest desire to promote the Kingdom of our Lord and Master."

B. of B. spoke with the feeling he always showed when among his own folk. This was his fortieth Assembly. He spoke of his father's life and work. How he had been a member of the Disruption Assembly, and it had made so deep an impression on him that he had never returned again to any Assembly, though he remained a devoted adherent and member of the Church. Speaking of the General Assembly he said, "It was Scottish, perhaps the most distinctively Scottish thing which they had left to rejoice over."

He was soon on the subject uppermost in the minds of himself and many—Union. "He had always resisted overtures" either to speak or to write in regard to this work. The time for public discussion would soon come. He hoped those on both sides who were principally engaged would approach it with caution. Might he venture to quote for both sides alike a word of advice which was given to one of R. L. Stevenson's best-known characters: "Oh! Davie, man, be souple of the things that are no material."

Then came the oft-repeated charge, "It would be a good thing if all of them, on both sides, were to scrutinise their own arguments before they used them with the same fidelity as they scrutinised their opponents' arguments after they had used them." Let them all try to think the best and not the worst of those who might take a different opinion from them on the great and solemn matters which would have to come into the arena of debate.

"Finally,—Let them take it whatever happened that these questions, which were soon to come up for even more prominent discussion than they had in the past, would be decided by Scotland according to Scottish ideas."

It was the son of an elder who had sat for the last time in the Assembly of 1843, who spoke this word of true warning.

B. of B. always contrived, however far his Commissions took him, to return in time for the meeting of the General Assembly. That Court would not have felt itself properly constituted, nor would Holyrood and its Commissioner have felt blessed without his fatherly smile and genial voice.

So from the West Indies he and his Commission came all in good time in 1910. Not only for the meeting of the Assembly, but later on to preside over one of the greatest Missionary Conferences that has ever been held in this country. Edinburgh was the chosen spot, a better one than London, for Edinburgh had time and opportunity to take stock of that world-wide meeting of Christendom. It was not by mere chance that Balfour was chosen as their President, while Mr. Mott was their Chairman. He had, as has been shown in this memoir, early taken his stand for the spread of Christian missions. He had watched the efforts of the Church of Scotland in many lands, with ever growing interest. The Livingstone Centenary held in 1913 made him urge for a closer union among workers in the foreign field. At a meeting presided over by the Archbishop of Canterbury, he spoke of the cruelties on the Congo and the Putumayo with indignation, and he earnestly advocated that Christian statesmen should lay aside their national jealousies, and act in the spirit of the Statesman and pioneer Livingstone. Rarely did Balfour mention any women, but at the meeting "he raised a storm of cheering" as he reminded his audience of Livingstone's devoted companion, his wife, who like him gave her life for the country whose welfare they had at heart.

Lord Balfour never failed in getting all the details of information which made his case effective. This, however, is anticipating the Missionary Meeting of 1910. There were 1,400 delegates, gathered from every Christian Church save the Roman. On his right hand sat the Archbishop of York. It was a moving moment to look down on the great gathering. All soldiers and warriors of the Cross—veterans in wide lands, experienced in loneliness, in privations, and difficulties manifold. Divided here, but united at the front. A meeting which put fresh courage into every heart, however discouraged; a living and moving witness, set in Edinburgh, for high conference.

As Balfour rose to open the proceedings, he said, "I have a message from the King." The delegates all rose to their feet, and he read the long and noble message which had been specially entrusted to his care.

The world's Missionary Conference marked an epoch in the history of the life of all the Churches, and their missionary efforts. They too were to feel war, pestilence and famine, the breaking down of their work, the prolonged exile from home and kindred; but in every region from which they had been called, and to which they returned, when those evil days fell on their work, and they saw their hopes blasted, they must have looked back and thought of the words of cheer and good courage that they had heard from their President and those who surrounded him in June, 1910.

Before the close of 1913 Lord Balfour had undertaken a critical bit of work. He was asked to arbitrate on the Scottish Coal Trade Conciliation Board, which consisted of an equal number of coal masters and miners' delegates. When he agreed to act, it was felt that the main difficulty had been overcome. He was naturally gratified at the universal

confidence felt in him as an arbitrator, and he probably undertook, in this line, more than any one human being could have accomplished.

Business men used to say that to see him handling a meeting of city men, or sitting in arbitration, alone or with assessors, was a treat in the way of sound business, rapid progress, and good temper on all hands. "Believing the best of everybody and not the worst, was good business," as well as good Christianity. Over and above other things was the driving force and energy of the particular individual that made him sought after by all sorts and conditions of men who manage the Commonwealth of this Realm.

Some account of the Church of Scotland in London must be given in any life that purports to show forth B. of B. His presence in one or other of them was as familiar as that of the minister himself, and all of them owe something to his care "for all the (Scottish) Churches."

It is difficult even now to make Anglicans realise the Church of Scotland, in its own land, but the Church of Scotland in England beats their finite imaginations. It must have been still more difficult when B. of B. came to London as a young man, and identified himself with their existence. Most Anglicans get mixed in the title "the Free Churches"; they know the word "Free" is identified with something that they have remotely heard of in Scotland, and they conclude the Church is connected with it. If they get out of that tangle, they fall into a pitfall of Dissenters and Nonconformists, and when one considers that most of the English Presbyterian Churches, an extremely strong body, are manned by Scottish ministers, the finite mind may be pardoned for its dense errors.

When B. of B. arrived in London, Dr. Cumming was at the zenith of his name and fame. He drew large crowds to Crown Court Church, and though the tone was Presbyterian, they were not by any means all of that persuasion. Nor are they to-day. The Scottish Churches have many Episcopalians who like good preaching and an austere form of worship, and flee from all that imitates the Roman Ritual.

Dr. Cumming's mind must have been built on Congregational lines, and though he kept Crown Court to the national principle, when the other churches went out at the Disruption, he did nothing to build up the Church of Scotland in London.

In due course he passed away, and the church, deserted by the great crowd, was left with only a handful of Scots. They were, fortunately for the life of the Church, of the best. Their young minister, Dr. Donald Macleod, saw that the moment had arrived when the Church must move into a region more popular and more populous.

The story of St. Columba's, Pont Street, is not within the scope of this book. The site was bought and the building erected by one of the best Scots and Elders that ever served a Church—Mr. MacVicar Anderson. It was not a time when architectural beauty was much thought of in Presbyterian Scotland. Inside it was plain, and at least inconspicuous; later adornments have made it uncharacteristic and ornate. With all its architectural faults, the square tower, with its four pinnacles, and leaning flagstaff, has stood for a great deal in peace and in war, and the Scottish people find there some few things which can still remind them of the Kirk of their fathers, and the quiet services their souls have rested upon.

In all this, B. of B. took a "business hand." He

was present at the laying of the foundation stone by the present Marquis of Aberdeen, who was then Commissioner to the General Assembly. B. of B. had been an elder of Crown Court Church, because, as we have seen, he was early made an elder in his own Kirk Session. He had strong views that he should not interfere in the doings of any Kirk Session save his own. When a Perthshire magnate was persuaded to join that astral body, the Kirk Session of St. Columba's, Balfour said that he would have done better to serve in his own parish. And, when the said magnate became Lord High Commissioner, and the minister of St. Columba's became his chaplain, he expressed strong disapproval, as he said he should have chosen his own parish minister. He was ever punctilious in Church matters. When he asked Dr. MacGregor of St. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh, to baptise one of his sons, he wrote that as his temporary house was inside the parish of St. George's, he proposed to let Dr. Scott know he had asked Dr. MacGregor to perform the rite.

To Dr. Macleod and his successor, and to countless more of the ministers and elders of the Church of Scotland, he was the warm friend, the trusty and well-beloved councillor.

It was said in his family that the Sundays when he did not go to Church were to be counted on one hand : he was always at morning and occasionally at evening services. He could be relied upon to take the plate round, or to read the lessons. He rarely was absent from the Communion Services, and when present he served as an Elder. He read finely. His voice had a wide range, and was reverent with a Scottish cadence. He was once told how beautifully he had read ; he replied quickly—" Yes, but what a beautiful chapter I was given to read ! " It was Isa. xxxv.

He frequently went into the vestry after the service—sometimes to meet a friend from Scotland who had preached, or just to cheer his own minister by his word and his presence. No trouble or pains were too great if he could do them a service, no counsel was ever withheld that might speed them on their uphill and often discouraging work.

Many years later Crown Court Church was rebuilt under its then minister, the Rev. Alex. Macrae, and Balfour of Burleigh was again at the back of the enterprise. He spared time to attend the Reconstruction Committee and to become a Trustee, and see the business through. When the foundation stone was laid by the then Prime Minister, the Rt. Hon. Arthur Balfour, he was also present. Truly the Church of Scotland in England owes a great debt to his memory, while he found in her services an enjoyment and repose from his active life. In this and in many other ways, B. of B. could never have become English, or have forgotten the land of his birth, the land of his race. Perhaps he was helped in this by an absolute indifference to beauty either in art or in music. If the services were Presbyterian in form, he would not have noticed if they were set in a High Church, or in a barn-like building. He was there, "to worship," and he took no heed to things which move lesser minds, although anything slovenly in the arrangement of any service he attended, gave him real pain. One of the things he was amusingly punctilious about was a habit which has grown up in the General Assembly, in speaking of it as "the House." The word always brought a frown to his face. Parliament was "the House," and the General Assembly was not Parliament. Something distinct and better—a spiritual Court of the Realm.

To return to "the House" and its ways, in 1914 Lord Balfour took a second-class Political Pension.

It provoked a controversy in the House of Commons, and the usual statements were made as to the affluence and wealth already enjoyed by this public servant. The House of Commons has allocated so much money to the payment of its own members, with travelling perquisites, that to-day such a debate could hardly be raised. But political pensions have an ugly history in the past, when the pure and incorruptible Socialists were non-existent, and to this day no ex-minister can take one of these modest rewards of work done for the State without running the gauntlet of Parliament. It must be remembered that even these are not granted without a personal statement that the means of the minister warrants such a grant being made. It was not Balfour's habit to take these things silently. Mr. Lloyd George had committed himself, on the Land Values Bill, to saying that Lord Balfour was the owner of a vast estate in Scotland. Lord Balfour had asked him to substantiate his statement. This produced one of F. C. Gould's best caricatures, of the gigantic B. of B. clad in a kilt, requiring from the microscopic L. G. a definition of his meaning. It was only another instance of the "land values," in the eyes of L. G.

On this occasion Balfour made his statement in the House of Lords, to his brother Peers, and the men who knew his work. It is given here, for it has an autobiographical interest, and it was uttered in the year when those labours for the State were to be multiplied fourfold and to be accomplished faithfully in spite of the burden of years and of sorrow.

"It is forty years since I began to do unpaid work for the State, and during the whole of that period I have never been without it. Opinions may vary as to the value of the work. I have been on nine Royal Commissions, and Chairman of seven. I have been

on a large number of Inter-Departmental Committees. In some years I have spent more than 130 days in unpaid work. I have taken on Arbitrations in which three Government Departments were concerned. I took a Commission which involved prolonged absence from the country and a certain consequent sacrifice of emoluments.

"I have the honour to be upon the Panel of Chairmen for Arbitrations appointed by the Board of Trade, and what perhaps I may be allowed to refer to with pardonable pride, I have five or six times been chosen as neutral Chairman by the coal owners and miners of Scotland to sit and help to settle their disputes. For all of these I could not accept, and I propose to continue this course of neither asking for or accepting, any remuneration."

Lord Crewe replied with his usual grace and sincerity. He said the House of Lords sympathised and understood the noble Lord's desire to make such a statement. After a few observations on what are called political pensions, he assured Lord Balfour that "the House had complete confidence in the absolute stainless honour of the noble Lord."

In 1920 the subject was again brought up in the Commons, and Bonar Law made effective reply.

"The number of companies with which Lord Balfour is connected is overstated, and in the case of some of them the work is done without a fee. As a matter of fact, Lord Balfour's estate in Scotland, owing to its heavy burdens, yielded little revenue, and is now yielding none. Let me add that few men, if any, not only during the war, but at all times, have done greater or more useful unpaid public work than Lord Balfour—indeed since 1875 there has not been a single year in which he has not rendered valuable unpaid public service."

B. of B. had his say in the Lords and had nothing to add. His comment was made to Lady Balfour, and was characteristically without "comment."

It may be said here that the expenses involved had a great deal to do with some of Balfour's many refusals to take what are curiously known as Offices of Emolument under the Crown.

July 28, 1920.

"I think you will be pleased with the reply by Bonar Law *re* Pension, etc. I went into the House of Lords by the central Lobby. On the far side of it I saw Mr. T. P. O'Connor coming to me. He came up and said most warmly that he was delighted with the reply to 'that beastly question,' and that it had been received with cheers. Of course it was the first news I had of it. Rather nice of him."

Sir Henry Craik also wrote from the House :

"It was a great pleasure to all your friends to observe how cordial was the feeling with which your name was greeted in every part of the House."

The whole subject, as applied to public service, opens our eyes to what a mass of self-sacrificing and unacknowledged work is done by public men for the State. Often, it is done at the cost of their own private business or estates. Always conducted in this country "with stainless honour and reputation," while if they are members of the Government they are remunerated with salaries which do not cover the ever-increasing demands of their working expenses. Possibly, now that the members of Parliament are paid, and have their railway fares found, with other perquisites in the future, they will learn to look on these questions with clear-eyed honesty. The possession of "vast lands" may and usually does mean

vast burdens which the general mass of people seem incapable of understanding. Perhaps some day Balfour's large charity may enter into the counsels of the most prejudiced classes, and they will think the best and not the worst of the laborious toil of those who serve our Commonwealth.

CHAPTER XII

THE RED PLANET MARS

"These men whose names you have just heard read out, theirs was no incomplete life. They did not die having contributed nothing in their day and generation to the country which they loved and the cause in which they believed. On the contrary, it has been their happy—their happy fate, I say deliberately—to contribute as much as it is given to a man to contribute to all that he values. They have not had to look back on years of mixed effort, some success, more failure, with all the lights and shadows that fall upon even the most prosperous career as it goes on in years. It has been their fortune to die in the prime of life carrying out the greatest duty which can fall to any man—carrying it out successfully and gloriously, and I say that they are to be envied. In this great cause for king, for country, and for duty these men died. They have given freely and valiantly everything they had to give. It is for us to see that the gift has not been in vain."—THE RT. HON. A. J. BALFOUR, M.P. Dedication of War Memorial.

WHEN war was declared, the Master of Burleigh went with his regiment, the Argyll and Sutherland, in the Expeditionary Force to France. The regiment was soon in action, and in the fighting round Mons the Master's name was among the first to be reported as "Missing."

There followed many weeks of drawn-out anxiety. Lord Balfour, so tragically true to himself, was busy collecting the evidence of where he was last seen, and by whom. The soldiers at the front found it hard to believe that he had fallen, and many had seen him in that fierce and confused fighting. The information that could be collected was typed and sent to the many anxious hearts who knew and cared for the Master and his family.

At last, all rumour and conjecture, all the sickening anxiety was ended. A brother officer, Maclean of

Ardgour, who had been made a prisoner by the Germans, got a letter through, saying that he had seen the Master killed.

“ With his back to the field, and his face to the foe;
And, leaving on earth no blot on his name,
Looks proudly to heaven, from his death-bed of fame.”

He would have asked no other fate. Youth and its hopes of wedded happiness were before him, and he left a home in which he was the central thought. For this high service was he born, and the Bruce in him gave him high courage, and the Gordon carried him to the field, with “ his gay and gallant heart.”

That year, Lord Rosebery presided at the Royal Scottish Corporation Society's dinner. On either hand sat Lord Kinnaird, and Lord Balfour, both Scottish peers who had lost their eldest sons. Lord Rosebery spoke on that loss with his own matchless touch.

“ Each of them has lost the eldest and most trusted son. Gallant lads, both of whom I knew. Noble fellows on whom their fathers had fixed the destiny of their historic races. One of whom was betrothed in marriage, both of whom are now beyond the reach of our sympathy and our applause.”

Lord Balfour of Burleigh's daughter, Jean Bruce, writes: “ I am sure my father never had any real hope. His heart was broken then and there, and he was never the same again. After my brother's death one saw how the burden of that sorrow was bowing him down, and the mainspring of his life was gone. I ventured one day to suggest he should more often spare himself. His reply was in keeping with his character. ‘ What troubles me most in the present time is the positive dislike of work and for sustained effort of any kind amongst the rising generation. What is to become of them when they are old, if they don't enjoy work when they are young? ’ ”

That was granted him. He never turned his back, nor flinched. His courage was as high as that of the soldiers at the front. Work was all that was left him, and he gave of his best till the very last hour of his conscious life.

In the four crowded years when the nation was at war, he was in constant request. Statesmen knew his talents, and how he was equipped for much of the pressing work which had to be done in Government departments. With many another in the battle-field of statesmanship, he served his country as if it was part of his very being.

Not, however, with the same ease as before the War. The face was more often clouded, the form a little more bent. Here and there, traces are to be found of a less solid grip of affairs, less command over himself and of others.

Somewhere among the contemporary records comes a description of him which has its true side, though a trifle bombastic. "So, this modern Bruce swings himself into the saddle, and rides off to accomplish his will."

Anyone who doubted or deferred to other men's opinions would have lost the directness of aim, or might have lost some of its power, in weighing the pros and cons of a situation. Once, when he had an important appointment to make, numerous people wrote to him on the effect it would have on certain interests, and how money might be diverted from the cause, and it was necessary to wait and consult. He read and weighed them all. His answer was extremely short. "The appointment has now been made. It was the right thing to do, and when that is the case, it is no use considering anything else."

The correspondence, thirty years old now, reads as

an alarmist's nightmare—nothing that was feared has transpired, and the instinct, for it was often that in his decisions, justified itself in the success of the individual appointed. It has been seen that where he had to act with others, this decisiveness was not a strength. Principles with him were occasionally mistaken for prejudices. It is almost as great a snare to act always on principle as to act invariably on prejudice. But the decisiveness is a great saving of the wear and tear to the individual mind.

Perhaps the most important of Lord Balfour's war work was done under the Ministry of Munitions. His colleague was Mr. (now Sir) Lynden Macassey, K.C. Their work was largely "The Enquiry by Lord Balfour of Burleigh and Macassey in the Fairfield strike. You are appointed by the Ministry of Munitions to enquire into the causes and circumstances of the apprehended differences affecting munition workers in the Clyde District."

The Enquiry was set up, after certain "shipwrights" had been imprisoned, under the provisions of the Munition Act. That particular part of the Enquiry was therefore in an acute stage—a strike being threatened if the men were not immediately released. Early in the proceedings, we find this note by Lord Balfour. He said the shipwrights' case would be taken first. He would do what he could to get their evidence, but he could not go so far as to urge the unconditional abrogation of the sentence. But "if at this great national crisis the result of our enquiry should be the prospect of industrial peace, then I think there will be a terrible responsibility on anybody, whether in authority or out of it, who does not say 'Let bygones be bygones,' and we shall not press for the extreme penalty that has been adjudicated."

Negotiations of the most critical character were carried on, till finally the suggestions of the Minister of Munitions were acted upon. The representatives of the Trade Unions paid the fines, the shipwrights were released from prison, and in a clearer atmosphere the Commissioners resumed their Enquiry.

Through the work of the Enquiry runs the pressure of war, with all its fiery haste, every expedient being tried and sought after that would lead to industrial peace. But no one can read what reached the public and not see the beginning of the effect of war's unrest, and how much the workers and their case was at first overlooked. "In the autumn of 1914 no part of the country was more eager than the Clyde Valley to join the colours, to accelerate the output of armaments, or to participate in the manifold activities called out by the War. Men and money were offered freely. Disputes were set aside. Unprecedented hours were worked. Nor should it be forgotten that during the stormy period which followed, the determination to prosecute the War to the end, never relaxed. In their eagerness to defend the privileges of their Societies and the liberties of their comrades, men may for the moment have impaired the fighting power of the nation, but the cause was narrowness of vision, not deliberate disloyalty." Good words to read, especially in these days of growing anxiety, and to see how fundamentally these two colleagues laboured to get at the root of the grievances. To do justly, and what was more, to make masters and men see justly.

Another section of the Report deals with the accusations of drinking and idleness, and the drink Bill, made the Bill for the Control of the Liquor Traffic, introduced by the Munition Minister, acquiesced in by a willing people. One cause of the drinking was in

the housing. In 1911 nearly half the population in Glasgow lived in houses of two rooms. More than one-eighth lived in single rooms. Embodied in the Report were the words of Dr. Russell, the medical officer for Glasgow, nearly thirty years ago. It was a terrible indictment, made long before the War, but thrown up again by the fierce energies of war, not to be set right by hostilities, for the enemy was in our own corporate life. "I have told you," said this voice crying in the wilderness of misery, "I have told you that in 1881 the population of Glasgow was 511,520 persons, and that of those 25 per cent. lived in one room, and 45 per cent. in two-roomed houses. But is that all I can say? I might throw down that statement before you, and ask you to imagine yourselves, with all your appetites and passions, your bodily necessities and functions, your feelings of modesty, your sense of propriety, your births, your sicknesses, your deaths, your children—in short, your *lives* in the whole round of their relationships with the seen and the unseen, suddenly shrivelled, and shrunk into such conditions of space—yet how can I speak to you decently of details? Where can I find language in which to clothe the facts of these poor people's lives and yet be tolerable?"

Then a voice speaks, and one feels the writer is with the bottom dog:—

"If the Clyde workman has not always done all that he might have done to bring this war to a victorious issue, if he has followed the lure of drink, if he has shown a sullen and suspicious temper and embraced too readily revolutionary ideas and the gospel of class hatred, his country, which has failed to provide for him the first condition of making a home for his family and himself, cannot with justice or a good conscience cast the first stone."

The Report made by Lord Balfour and Sir Lynden Macassey on the Clyde Mmunition Workers was sent to the Minister in December. But the evidence taken before the Commission had been forwarded as it was printed to the Ministry, and the grievances pressed by the local Trade Union officials were well known at the headquarters of their Societies. The Bill was drawn to give effect to the recommendations of the Commission.

Little wonder that B. of B. was absorbed and shadowed by his work. Whenever he was met, the Clyde workers were ever on his lips, and as one reads the words, one feels that between the lines he was looking into the heart of things and realising what such conditions as between masters and men, the conditions so little noticed hitherto by the whole community, must lead to in the future. Sir Lynden Macassey writes: "Your father's extraordinary personal hold upon the Clydeside workers was great. They looked up to him and respected him, and the trouble with which we dealt, which was a most serious national menace, was only averted by his personal influence which had to be seen to be realised."

We must take a momentary glimpse into the affairs of the Church of Scotland, in war time, viz., the provision of Chaplains for the Scottish Forces, and the more equable and reasonable progress of Church Union. The Commission of the Assembly, a body always ready to be called in any general national crisis, had been summoned for November 1914. It was nine years since it had been called to meet, and this occasion had no parallel. When Fathers and Brethren had parted in May of the same year, there had been nothing to disturb their deliberations, and the Church Interests debate had proceeded on its triumphant way.

As they met in November and looked each other in

the face, they knew before that end was accomplished, one and all would have to pay the price of love of country, and suffer many things.

There is always something reminiscent of a fighting force in the General Assembly. At the time of the Commission the National Church had granted the rights of the individual conscience, and Presbyteries declared that ministers were right to join the combatant forces, if they felt the call. "Other men can preach, I feel it is my duty to fight," said the pioneer, the Rev. Gavin Pagan, Minister of St. George's, before the Presbytery. He joined up, and other and younger men had gone forth. For the rest, as in the days of Flodden—

" For all of them were fathers,
And their sons were with the king."

B. of B. was in the Assembly, and occupied his usual seat. He had suffered among the earliest, but though his voice held a deep emotion, it did not fail. He set before the Assembly the causes of the War and the determination of the country to enter into a just fight. The Assembly heard in solemn and stern silence.

Routine matters were gone through, and the Rev. Donald Maclean made a statement with regard to Army Chaplains. He said he thought it only right that the committee should know that were it not for the cordial and sympathetic interest taken in their claim by Lord Balfour, they probably would not have got even one chaplain appointed. This was the beginning of a very stiff uphill fight for Scotland's soldiers with the War Office. It was not a new contest. Many years before B. of B. had taken part in a debate which roused the Assembly and Scotland without, to the very core. Some Highland regiments had been at the storming and capture of Dargai. It so happened that the only church in which they could worship was

one consecrated and possessed by the Anglicans. The Highland regiments were not admitted into the church, and had a small theatre pointed out as a place which was suitable for them. The discussion was led by perhaps the most trenchant and eloquent debater the Assembly has ever possessed, the Very Rev. Professor Story, D.D. The bald facts were presented in vivid colours. Scotland was proud of its Highland regiments and their deeds of valour, and it was prouder still of its religion. The result was that the heather was kindled in Scotland, till India felt the blaze, and at great expense the Indian Government had to erect unconsecrated churches open to all denominations. This was the first attention ever paid inside the War Office to the question of the spiritual wants of Scotland. The Roman Catholics always made the War Office bow to their well organised and complete claim. Years passed, and Lord Haldane as War Minister formed in 1906 an advisory committee, under the chairmanship of B. of B., consisting of four members, of the Presbyterian Churches. The late Dr. Theodore Marshall on it represented the Church of Scotland. This committee held thirty-two meetings, but during the War, for some reason, they became inoperative in many cases. They could not deal on the pre-war establishment with the rapidly growing needs of a nation under arms. When the War broke out, Lord Kitchener announced that whichever chaplain was senior in rank, was to be senior in the field. The senior chaplain was Brigadier-General Simms, a man universally respected and loved, but he was an Irish Presbyterian. The appointment worked well at first, and General Simms conducted the chaplains' business with a strict regard to the rights of all denominations. No complaints were heard, and things went smoothly.

Here it will be necessary to pause and say a word as to B. of B.'s relations to the Anglican Church. He numbered many of the Bishops among his greatest friends. His long residence in England, and his natural interest in the subject made him an admirer of the national system of the Anglican Church, and whenever he heard of her influence and piety, he rejoiced as if it were that of the Sister Church. He never had any temptation to turn his back on the Church of his fathers. He was one with her in doctrine and in worship. He had been an office-bearer in her polity since his early youth, an influential member of her high court in spiritual things. He would jest with his Anglican brethren on Church history, and point out to them the greater spiritual freedom of Scotland. "Seeing is believing," and to many an Anglican the misty history of Scotland was made clearer in the personality of B. of B.

He was always "respecting their difficulties," especially the Scots among the bishops, and he loved the Anglican Church in England.

He never mistook the issues. The two sister national Churches were distinct in organisation, and, as things are, they cannot coalesce. The Anglican has a system as rigid as is that of the Roman Catholic. Any attempt at union on the part of the Church of England, has always been met by the first principle of Rome, obedience to the authority of the Papacy.

The Anglican holds by the Episcopate. Without it the rites of the Christian Church are invalid, or of doubtful efficacy. No other denomination may baptise, marry, bury, or communicate, or even preach in a consecrated church. Their ordinations are invalid unless episcopal hands have been laid on them.

Holding these views, the Anglican Church has the right to maintain them. It will be seen at a glance

that the Presbyterian system cannot entertain for a moment such a claim.

In practical working it has meant many "a pin-prick," and Scotland is not a country which stands pin-pricks with patience. The result even in days of peace was often "not for edification." Before very long, the Anglicans, by far the largest body in the Army, became uneasy at a state of affairs so "undenominational." The Roman Catholics accepted the situation and worked it perfectly. The Anglicans formed what was known as the Salisbury Committee. Their investigations at the Front and at home led to a strong recommendation that Bishop Gwynne, a man universally respected and a man of liberal and common-sense views, should be put over the Episcopalians and should go to the Front. The Committee had powerful influence with Lord Kitchener, who quickly advanced Bishop Gwynne, who with other chaplains had begun as a fourth class chaplain. He was now advanced above General Simms in Army rank in the military establishment. Everybody except Lord Kitchener saw the injustice of this act. He obstinately refused to right it in any way. After his death, when Mr. Asquith took over the War Office, the civilian Minister for War saw and made no difficulties, and a stroke of the pen at once set the matter right, and they were made equal in Army rank.

A small matter in a great war, and none of the chaplains allowed it to interfere with their pressing work. Their spiritual discipline was better than that of those who had authority at home.

In the meantime the Assembly of 1915 had met. United services of intercession had been held by all the Presbyterian Churches in Scotland. In St. Giles' as of old the three bodies had met in solemn prayer and intercession. They were united in one spirit.

In 1915 four hundred and fifteen of the sons of ministers of the Church of Scotland were at the Front. The like was true of the United Free Church. Scottish armies have never taken the field without their ministers, and it was the first charge on the Assembly to see that the War Office gave them their share of chaplains. B. of B. in this Assembly said that there had been "undue patience, and in too few numbers Scottish Chaplains had gone to their difficult task."

B. of B. carried the debate to the Lords. It was a difficult atmosphere. The Peers knew and cared little about Presbyterians. Lord Newton, answering for the War Office, was ignorant and unsympathetic. There was a story of a Highland soldier standing at the door of a Presbyterian Church which had been lavish in decorations, and innovations. The soldier looked around at them and said in a non-committal way, "It is no what I am accustomed to." The Assembly was determined he should have what he knew and had been accustomed to. Men fight better under known leaders, and "the captains of the Lord's Host" are not to be despised, though they may not know every detail of military discipline.

The mutterings of a battle which has not yet spent itself were heard in B. of B.'s speech in the Lords. "He was content to accept the disclaimer given by the War Office, but there was a strong feeling that the intention was to put a Church of England representative above everybody else, and not to confine it only to matters of Church of England concern."

In 1915 he received a deputation in Edinburgh from the General Assembly on the same subject. Dr. Wallace Williamson spoke on behalf of the Church of Scotland, and expressed their "uneasiness" at the treatment being given to Scotland. B. of B. had by this time fought the War Office, and was able to say

"In future at least one Presbyterian Chaplain would be attached to every brigade which included a Scottish or North Irish regiment. The new scale applied to all the Churches, and it was the best that there was any likelihood of maintaining." It was true, what Dr. Williamson had said, "there was a certain feeling of dissatisfaction." He was there as a representative of the Chaplain's Department of the Advisory Committee of the War Office. He was not altogether satisfied with the line it had taken at the outbreak of the War. He reminded the deputation of the difficulties of the national emergency, and that recriminations were useless: "It is no use scolding one another. We must not complain if Scotland has got to the front more quickly." By argument he thought they had got the War Office out of associating Chaplains with Divisions. He tried to still the growing anxieties of the Committee, but he was far from content himself. The Advisory Committee had died down, the War Office needed all its accommodation, they had done little, for little opportunity was afforded them before the War, and now they met no longer. The whole burden at first fell on his shoulders—the whole fighting burden, for his assessors were not capable of making any stand in this difficult struggle. In 1916 he had a complete and lengthy correspondence with the War Office printed for private circulation.

In B. of B.'s first letter to Sir R. Brade, he says "he perceives a change is to be made in favour of the Church of England." After denoting the points on which elucidation was required, he says, "It is probably hardly necessary that I should say it, but I suppose you will take it that anything which is for the interests of the Church of England work in the Army, or which tends to its better organisation, or to its efficiency, awakens a lively sense of satisfaction in my

mind, and nothing would be more distasteful to me than that it should be thought I would say or do anything which could in any way be prejudicial to such a result."

Further, from the letter he had received he gathered that the changes contemplated are only to have reference to the internal organisation of the Church of England Chaplains. He foresees these powers, given to certain individuals, may have "a reflex effect of giving them, directly, or more probably indirectly, greater power from a military point of view, power which may be used to the prejudice of others not belonging to their particular service." B. of B. then stated he knew this was not the desire of the Army Council, nor did he believe it was the wish of those "responsible for the government of the Church of England." But beyond all question there is a feeling that anyone who does not belong to the Church of England must be classed, regarded and treated as a "Dissenter." He goes on, with the unwearied patience of a lifetime, to set forth the position of the Church of Scotland. "We in Scotland are as national, so far as regards Scotland, as the Church of England is for England. As a matter of fact, the Committee on Presbyterian Chaplains, of which by the kindness of the War Office I am Chairman, is entitled to speak for at least 80 per cent. of the population of Scotland, and yet, owing to the fact that we are officially described as Presbyterians, our national position gets very scant recognition from those who do not either care or desire to think the matter out, and we are, as I have said, classed simply 'as Dissenters.'"

He then speaks of his reluctance to raise questions of difficulty at a time like the present, but "we have had too many difficulties to surmount in the past, and, if I may use the words in as little controversial spirit as possible, too many injustices and inequalities to

contend against for us lightly to run the risk of the resuscitation of them in the future."

Then followed the usual fair outlook. "I hasten to add that I have always been and am convinced that no intention to do the wrong thing was ever present in the minds of any of those responsible for the promotion of Bishop Gwynne to the rank of Major-General. But if people in high office could do a thing of that kind in the particular way in which it was done without thinking out the consequences, is it wonderful that we are apprehensive that other things prejudicial to us will occur, it may be, out of pure thoughtlessness on the part of others whose special rank gives them the opportunity?" His conclusion is the usual one: "his influence would be on the side of peace."

The longer letter was followed by a short one in which he says, "Lord Salisbury knows my views, and he and I have had conversations." He expresses his willingness to come and discuss the whole situation, and "with a sincere Christian desire to do the right thing for everybody concerned." The correspondence went on its way, and is instructive reading. At one point Lord Balfour having fought every inch of the ground, an unusual note of utter weariness comes into the correspondence as he fought with a dense and obtuse War Office. "I could not but feel that a very grievous mistake had been made in this new departure. If I consulted my own inclination and my own convenience I should place in the hands of the Army Council my resignation as Chairman of the Advisory Committee."

The concluding letter was written in Assembly time, 1916. It was in the same year that Lord Kitchener died, and this particular difficulty was at once settled by his successor.

"I am afraid I must say that all of us feel that the

interests which it is our duty to represent have been treated with very scant consideration, and that unless some change is made in the position of those for whom we are entitled to speak, corresponding to that which has been made in the case of the Church of England Chaplains, we feel that we shall be treated with grave injustice.

"Since I saw you I have been shown a copy of what is described as the 'Second Report of Committee on Chaplains.' It is rather characteristic of the Church of England attitude to everybody else that it should be headed 'Report of Committee on Chaplains.' Surely it ought to have been headed 'Report of Committee on Chaplains connected with the Church of England,' because as far as I understand it, it does not even profess to deal with the interests of any of those who are not connected with the Church of England.

"The fact that it could be headed in this way is a curious sidelight on the attitude which the dominant section of the Church of England maintain to everybody who is not connected with them."

The concluding letter is stern, and B. of B. was now on "a war footing." The letter was addressed to Mr. Lloyd George. "Some years ago Lord Haldane, when Secretary of State for War, appointed an Advisory Committee on Presbyterian Chaplains, and asked me to take the Chairmanship of it as representing War Office interests on the Committee.

"I accepted, and had great pleasure in carrying on the work. We had our difficulties, but things went on the whole smoothly till a new departure was made by the War Office some few months ago. Differential treatment as regards the chaplaincy with the English and Scottish Divisions respectively has been introduced, and I have felt it necessary to make very

strong remonstrance against what is a national injustice. So far, I am sorry to say, I have done so without success.

"It is beyond all question that divisions of the Expeditionary Force which are distinctively English have been accorded better treatment than those which are distinctively Scottish; that is not a question between Churches, but it is an injustice under which none of us from the north of the Tweed will consent to remain. I ask you therefore to accept my resignation."

The sting of the whole transaction was its unfairness, and B. of B. thought he detected some intention of the War Office to juggle with facts, and that was a thing he never could "thole."

The situation has been stated and the correspondence quoted, showing how gallantly B. of B. stood for the rights of Scotland. Those who come after him cannot hope to succeed unless they stand to their guns as he did. Nowhere has he been more missed than in the Chaplain's Department of the War Office, and nowhere did his vigilant eye and "Greatheart" stand for Scotland set a higher standard.

B. of B. was of the kind that would not consent to be bullied. The War Office had reason to fear him, and he got his way more often than not. In this case he felt beaten. Scottish affairs went from bad to worse. A fresh organisation was set up. The retirement under Army regulations of certain Presbyterian chaplains left the way clear, and the present though not lasting arrangement is that Presbyterian Scotland will be under an English Bishop and a Wesleyan.

The story runs, and still runs, after the death of Lord Balfour. When the present organisation was forecast, B. of B. once more wrote to Sir

Reginald Brade, then Secretary to the War Office. The letter was dated December 19, 1919, within a year and a half of his death. It was like the correspondence which has been quoted, a reasoned letter. In the course of it came the sentence which has often been quoted : " Personally, I would sooner fight Bannockburn over again than see our Scottish National Church being put in the position of being able only to approach the Department, and the Secretary of State, through an English Bishop or an English Nonconformist." At the time that he wrote this, the firm stand that he took brought the proposal to an end. The matter was held in abeyance till B. of B. had passed from the scene.

It will not be allowed to rest, and even a War Office cannot always resist the united voice of a nation. A change at the War Office is possible, and the Chaplaincy Committee in Scotland may learn that now it has none to champion them at the front of affairs, they must take a lesson from their late great colleague. They must defend the pass, and not let it be taken from them because they have surrendered unconditionally. Another scheme of Unification might have been adopted, and which works perfectly in the Air Force, and the difficult working of the present system will probably put the whole matter sooner or later into the melting-pot. It is impossible to believe that Scotland will consent to bear with any position which Balfour of Burleigh called " unjust."

“Logically, I have an absolutely conclusive case, but many men who dislike the new franchise do not like a Referendum any more. One word more. I do not dismiss it with a jest at the sex. I am keen for their influence in local affairs, and have always been. We must please try to go on thinking kindly of each other.”

It was not difficult to recognise Balfour as an impossible fortress to attack, but it was also impossible to bear any grudge against the man who lived in the unassailable fortress.

He made a speech in the Lords on the same lines as this letter, and then the matter dropped into the background, and the women took possession of the field.

In the meantime the Unity of the Church (which included both sexes) was proceeding on its way with every sign of peace and concord. It must have been a great relief to turn from the difficulties in the Chaplain's Department, in the War Office and from the anxious care of Departmental Committees, and from the strain of news from the front, to the work carried on first in the General Assembly, and then to watch its rapid progress in Parliament. It had indeed been put on the rails without a jolt. “The General Assembly had during these war years acquiesced in and passed the Report of the Committee appointed to confer with Representatives of the United Free Church of Scotland.” The opposition dwindled away year by year—men could not fight over matters of detail in their Spiritual Court, while the nation was at the Front, served in one spirit by the Ministers of Churches united in one effort. Each Report had a Clause, “the General Assembly anew earnestly commend the movement for the reuniting

of the Churches to the prayerful assistance and goodwill of all the office-bearers and members of the Church."

In 1919 Articles prepared by the Church of Scotland Committee and approved of by the United Free Church Committee, were passed as a basis of Union under which the Church would be both national and free.

In 1921 the General Assembly of the United Free Church by an overwhelming majority likewise approved of the Bill being proceeded with. On these lines the Churches moved forward, till the day when they presented their Bill to Parliament.

1919 was again the critical year, and the part Lord Balfour of Burleigh took in the debates was described in letters written to Lady Balfour by Dr. White and the Dean of the Thistle.

Dr. White of the Barony recapitulated the work of the Assembly; he then wrote: "The Reunion of our Churches in Scotland was the chief question. It would have given you real pleasure if you had witnessed the enthusiasm with which the result of the vote was received. It was practically unanimous, only eleven votes being cast for several amendments.

"It was, however, your husband's speech that put the issue beyond doubt. We owe Lord Balfour more than I can say for his unfailing advocacy of our policy of reunion. Lord Balfour was never more effective than in his great speech on Tuesday. His consideration for all who had taken responsibility for moving amendments did much to remove all suspicion that we were indifferent to the opinion of Kirk Sessions and to the mind of congregations. There is still some difficult and delicate work before us, and we shall need his counsel and influence in the high places of Government to carry through our negotiations with success.

"His personal references at the close of his speech brought home to us all how much he has done in defence of the Church of Scotland, and to which he has given so much time and thought. The cause has received a mighty impetus. I would like to say that his speech in the Union debate was an immense help. It just came at the psychological moment. As a debating speech it was a complete answer to every objection raised; and his conclusion, with a personal and reminiscent note, was one of the very best things I have ever heard him do. It clinched the whole matter."

A contemporary description of the scene in the Assembly says, "Lord Balfour's voice vibrated with solemnity as he closed with an appeal to the Church to grasp the great opportunity of bringing lasting peace to the Church of Christ in Scotland. There has rarely been in the Assembly one that lifted it to a higher level."

The scene was now to change to Parliament, where the State was to put its seal on the work of all the Churches. There also it was to go forward, helped by the men of good-will and of understanding hearts.

Before the Christmas Festival he heard from the Archbishop of Canterbury: "To you more than to any living man is the result due. I pray that full consummation may be given to your unwearied toil on the pathway to Unity, and therefore to more efficient work."

The "unwearied toil" was drawing to a close. The Angel of Shadows was nearer than mortal eyes could see. After his death on the day of the Memorial Service a number of Scottish M.P.'s passed back from the Church of St. Columba to St. Stephen's, there to register their votes in favour of the third reading of the first part of the Scottish Churches Bill.



Photo Surinco

1920

It is recorded by a Peer who was presiding over a House of Lords Committee, how their deliberations were interrupted by the appearance of B. of B. entering the Committee room. His face was aglow with a great joy. He told the surprised Peers, many of whom were not conversant with Scotland or its Church, how the Church Bill in the Upstairs Committee Room of the House of Commons had passed one stage in as many minutes as it had taken years to bring together the fruits of conciliation in Scotland. The sowing time had been long and anxious, but the fields lay white and ready for the reapers.

In that last year of his life, after those events in the House of Commons, he would say in his family, almost with awe, "Was it not wonderful that it should have passed without any division?"

In the long line of laymen who have wrought great things for the Churches of Presbyterian Scotland, Balfour of Burleigh will have an honoured and long-remembered name.

During the sitting of the General Assembly of 1921 I met him walking alone; he had been calling on the wife of his old colleague, now Lord Dunedin. We talked of the Assembly, and the long history of the Church's Bill. He reviewed the Assembly as he had first known it, and the traits of its former leaders. During our talk I suggested he should be the first Lay Moderator when Union was accomplished. He decisively dissented. "That must always be a Minister." And he spoke of people usurping Chaplaincies and posts which belonged to others.

I then suggested that Holyrood must know him as the King's Representative. He smiled, and said something about Union being the first consideration. He left me at the house of one of my kinsmen, at whose brilliantly painted door he gazed with whimsical

surprise. I watched him walk slowly, and somewhat stiffly up the steep brae to his club. It was my last sight of B. of B.

It was on July 6th, 1921, that his summons came suddenly, and without suffering he was called to rest from "unwearied toil."

He had attended the evening service in St. Columba's the preceding Sunday. His familiar figure—so familiar it seemed part of the church—moved about the seats. He was busy as usual "taking up the collection," and as he did so the people were singing the hymn "Abide with me." After the service he went, "as he had done scores of times before," to speak to the Minister and those gathered with him. Dr. Milligan, and Principal Sir Donald Macalister of Glasgow University, and Sir Henry Craik were there. B. of B. spoke with great gratification of the peaceful passage of the Church of Scotland Bill through the Commons. They asked how it would fare in the Lords? "Oh, *that* will be all right," he replied confidently; and cheered himself, and leaving confidence behind him, for the last time he passed on his accustomed way.

When he retired to rest his letters lay all answered and dated for the next day. During the night the seizure which was to end his life here came upon him.

His daughter Jean Bruce writes: "When the blow fell he passed in an instant from full vigour into complete unconsciousness. For forty-eight hours he lay between the seen and the unseen in perfect peace. We seemed to travel quite a long way with him towards the great unseen. There was no sadness of farewell when he embarked.

"As the years passed, and we saw how even his magnificent health began to fail, those who loved him best dreaded physical suffering, or a slow decline of strength. This was want of faith. His passing was

in complete accord with the simplicity of his life. On the last day of his life there was still time to work, still time to serve and take trouble."

The Sunday following his death, and afterwards at the Memorial Service, his Minister spoke words of truth to great congregations who were not formal mourners but those of his own nation and his own church, Scots of whom he was bone of their bone and flesh of their flesh. "Through the thirty-seven years when this church was founded he came to it as an Elder. The General Assembly in Edinburgh was the forty-eighth in succession in which he had sat as a representative Elder. Through all these years he was the counsellor and friend on whose wisdom the Church of Scotland, and we here, its offshoot *in partibus*, relied with implicit trust; whose powerful influence was at our constant service and bidding, whose love was as constant as the Pole. For so many long years most intimate adviser and comforter and comrade to oneself, one realises now that just such he was to multitudes: by crowding testimonials it is brought home how wide and wonderful he was in sympathy and self-sacrifice.

"Early in life he won, and throughout life he held, such confidence on the part of his countrymen in his integrity, sagacity, and patriotism as made him a personality and a power quite by himself. He was trusted in Scotland for two generations, as no Scotsman in living memory has been trusted. It would be hard to say whether he was the more respected by those whom he opposed in Church or public life or by those whose cause he espoused. He was always so scrupulously fair as to put some make-weight into his opponent's case or argument, in order to make sure that he was taking no unfair advantage. The only direction in which he always and utterly failed was in that of believing really ill of anyone. No one

could say of him that he suffered fools gladly; yet there hardly ever was a fool whom in the end he did not compel himself to suffer. His life was so many sided—his interests were in so great a diversity of worlds—that his experience was well-nigh unique; and from it he had distilled all the wisdom that it could yield, and gained from it that wonderful *flair* of his for affairs. And powerfully his abettor in this regard was his broad and deep humanity, which made him ever large minded, tolerant, understanding, generous; the scorner of side-issues and petty personalities, the dealer in big things only.

“He nothing common did nor mean, and yet, with all that, he had a rare power of seeing how big some little things can be, of seeing not only how important is detail, but how a seeming detail may be the one all-important thing. And when the need and cry of that little thing that bulked so big in a humble life came his way, then all his great influence, all his big heart, all his time, all his thoughts were at the service and command of the lowliest claimant, till the crux was past and the boon was won.

“To-day, in this church we are just bidding our earthly farewell to a great good man with a child’s heart. Clean of life as the brook-washed stone, high minded, incorruptible, the truest of friends, the tenderest of hearts, a devout, humble Christian, a great Scottish Churchman, whom no lure would draw from the manner of worship or the Faith of his fathers; one, as has been finely said, whose passing is to Scotland and Scotsmen a national loss, but whose memory is a lasting and a national possession.”

These are not words of lip-service, not the empty eulogy of a formal funeral. They are a true description of the man and his life—words which are but the echo of a great feeling that was finding expression north of the Tweed.

To say the memorial service in London was representative, and numerously attended, is to give no idea of that great gathering. Every public service, the City, both Houses of Parliament, the representatives of the throne, the family, and a concourse of friends, crowded the church. Whichever way one looked, one saw the representatives of great interests, evidences of his hard service for the State and the nation.

Many had never before been in a Presbyterian church. By the desire of those who knew him best, the service was kept strictly Presbyterian. The organ was silent, and the sweet cadences of the Metrical Psalms filled the silences. As that great congregation "skaled," Anglicans were heard expressing their wonder at the beauty of the prayers, and the Presbyterian church.

He had taken his place in the familiar train to the north, everything was arranged in his usual methodical manner. By it, this valiant defender of Scotland's faith fared back to the land of his fathers, to lie in the ancient kirkyard of Clackmannan.

His son George writes: "He lay at rest over the Sunday in his own quiet library at Kennet. On Monday morning, after a short service in the library, we took him by way of his beloved West Walk up to the Parish Church, where he lay in state, the coffin draped with the splendid green cloak of the Thistle and Insignia of the Order. His friends and immediate neighbours passed by. In the afternoon he was laid to rest. The Church was completely filled by mourners from all parts of Scotland. The main part in the service was taken by Dr. Wallace Williamson and the Moderator, assisted by Dr. Simpson of the United Free Church and ministers of neighbouring parishes."

It was impressive, not only in the multitude, but as in London it was representative not only of his many

interests and works, but it was a tribute from the whole Church and State of Scotland.

Fare forward, true great heart. One of Scotland's best sons, "without fear, and without reproach"!

On the Sunday after the news reached Edinburgh, the Dean of the Thistle, and Minister of St. Giles', sounded a note of thanksgiving. "His life," he said, "was determined by the integrity of his character and marked by the fullness and faithfulness of his service. The things that mattered were for him the things that mattered eternally. Hence his personal character grew in depth and power. The superficial things, whether in the Church or the nation, had no attraction for him.

"His service for the Church and the great part he took in the earnest endeavour to heal the breaches in her ranks and to restore her unity could never and would never be forgotten. He had not been spared to see the end of the task, but he had been strongly instrumental in removing the greatest obstacles, and it was granted to him to see the vision of the promised land. They had other reasons to hope that the first stage would be passed within twenty-four hours, when the Scottish Churches Bill would leave the House of Commons. To Lord Balfour would have fallen the duty and the honour of commending the measures to the Upper House of the Legislature and of confirming by his personal and eloquent sincerity the confidence of his countrymen in a measure which would remove the stain that had darkened progress in their Church life for more than two generations. All honour, to his name for that noble work! All honour, for the example he had left to them as a devoted and unselfish life. Such men as he enriched the blood of a nation."

When the General Assembly of 1922 met, the

Committee on the Churches of Scotland presented their Report. The name of Lord Balfour of Burleigh was absent, the two conveners, Dr. Wallace Williamson and Dr. White, alone signed it.

The words ran : “ The Committee have now formally to report that the measure was duly passed into law July 28th, 1921.”

Every thought of that Assembly was fixed on him who had gone before, every eye fell on the seat kept vacant through the whole of the solemn Assembly, the seat which for so many years had been occupied by the Statesman, the Elder and the true Scot, Alexander Hugh Bruce,—Lord Balfour of Burleigh.

APPENDIX

NOTES ON THE LATE LORD BALFOUR OF BUR- LEIGH'S WORK ON THE CLYDE

OCTOBER TO DECEMBER 1915

OF all Lord Balfour's public work, nothing perhaps exceeded in national importance that which he did on the Clyde in the latter half of 1915. It was not so much achieved along any line of far-sighted administration as by his deep insight into the character of the Scottish workmen, and the great personal influence which he was able to wield over them. At that time the Clyde was rapidly drifting to the verge of the first of the many industrial ebullitions which unhappily grew in the latter stages of the war to be characteristic of that munitions storm centre. There had been waged, many years before the war, a bitter struggle between the Glasgow employers in the engineering and shipbuilding industries and the trade unions on the Clyde in regard to the practice of employers, when they discharged a worker, of giving him "discharge lines." It was really a sort of character which recorded the reasons of the employer for getting rid of the recipient. Other employers, members of the shipbuilding or engineering federations, made it a practice not to take on a worker unless he produced his discharge lines from his previous employer. Rightly or wrongly it was claimed by the men that this practice of giving and insisting upon discharge lines was used by certain foremen for the purpose of "victimising" workers against whom they had a grudge, and so preventing them from obtaining employment. A long and bitter struggle ensued between the employers and the trade unions, punctuated by a number of intermittent strikes. In the end the employers were forced to abandon their practice of giving these lines. The memories of workers are proverbially long. The men did not readily forget this old bone of contention.

The war came, and with it the Munitions Act of 1915. No more inauspicious time, so far as Scotland was concerned,

could have been fixed by the Government as the date of commencement of the operation of this Act. Glasgow Fair Week is a holiday at the end of July which has been honoured and celebrated by generations of Clydeside workers almost "from time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary." In July 1915 large numbers of workers, as was their wont, had taken rooms "at the coast" for their annual outing. Then, just as they were about to depart with their wives and families for their, on this occasion, much-needed holiday because they had been working under the greatest of pressure on the production of munitions of war, the Act with its severe restrictions fell upon them. They were threatened with prosecution by anxious and distraught Government officials, who were none too tactful in their fulminations, if they left work and went to "the coast." Some abandoned their holiday and were forced to pay for the rooms they had engaged but could not occupy; others went on holiday and were promptly prosecuted. The result was that the Munitions Act was quickly regarded, even by sober-minded and reasonable workmen, as a Government instrument of unreasonable and harsh oppression. This attitude of mind afforded the Clydeside Communist exactly the ground he wanted on which to sow his pernicious seed of hostility and resistance to the Government. He described the Act as the employers' scheme to smash Trade Unionism. There was no want of alacrity by the Clyde Workers Committee and the other extreme organisations which flourished in profusion in Glasgow in seizing this opportunity of making mischief.

The Munitions Act also embraced, amongst its many provisions, one which enacted that no employer should take on any workman unless the workman could produce a "clearance certificate" from his last employer. The object of this provision was to prevent one employer, by offering higher rates of wages and better conditions of employment than his competitor, from tempting away the workers of his competitor, and so disorganising the local plan for the ordered production of munitions. These clearance certificates seemed to the workers perilously like the old discharge lines against which they had fought so strenuously. Aware of the latent, and at times forcibly expressed objection to these clearance certificates, Clydeside employers should have been specially careful under no circumstances to do anything which might even engender the suspicion in the workmen's minds that these clearance certificates were in any way reproducing the old practices that had attended the "discharge lines." In

one great firm a dispute arose, and, like all Clydeside disputes, spread like wildfire over the whole district, embroiling all the federated employers in the shipbuilding and engineering industries, and all the trade unions connected with those industries. Some shipwrights were discharged by the firm. They were given their clearance certificate, and it was contended by the shipwrights who were discharged that the employers had recorded on these certificates the reasons for their discharge. Extremists on the Clyde, and the local extremists amongst the shipwrights, which was in general one of the most temperate and local unions in the shipyards, at once raised the cry that the employers were improperly using their powers under the Munitions Act to re-establish the old pernicious practice of "discharge lines." All the shipwrights employed in the firm in question at once struck work by way of protest. Some were summoned for ceasing work under the provisions of the Munitions Act. They were fined by the sheriff who had jurisdiction, and at once refused to pay the fine. They were then arrested for non-payment, as they could be under the express provisions of the Act, and indeed apart from the Act under the Common Law of Scotland, and lodged in Duke Street Prison, Glasgow.

The arrest and imprisonment of these shipwrights consolidated all the workers on the Clyde, constitutionalist trade unionists as well as Communists and revolutionary Socialists, into one compact homogeneous phalanx inflamed with indignation against the Government. Intimations were conveyed by the local trade unionist leaders to the Ministry of Munitions, that so strong was industrial opinion massing against the Government that a general strike in every workshop on the Clyde was inevitable unless steps were at once taken by the Government to deal promptly with the matter. It was regarded by the workers as a covert attack upon trade-union privileges, and an occasion when the rank and file took possession of the situation and were not to be held back or restrained by any advice from their trade unionist leaders.

Lord (then Sir George) Askwith was the Chief Industrial Commissioner and promptly instituted an investigation into the whole position. His intuition in such matters was unrivalled. He quickly realised that the outburst in respect of the imprisoned shipwrights was merely symptomatic of the grave and deep irritation felt by all classes of workers on the Clyde against the operation of the Munitions Act. This diagnosis was quickly confirmed by an investigation on the spot conducted by his remarkably able lieutenant,

Mr. I. H. Mitchell, who had had a long personal experience of the Clyde. The Government were told that unless an immediate inquiry was instituted into the grievances of the Clyde munition workers against the Munitions Act, it would be impossible to control the rising storm and that a long and bitter strike would be precipitated by the extremists, who were working strenuously to inflame industrial opinion. An inquiry of the ordinary industrial type customary in the case of an ordinary strike would have been useless. What alone would satisfy the Clydeside workers was an inquiry by some person or persons in whom they had confidence, who would be regarded as completely independent of the Minister of Munitions, and who possessed outstanding personal influence with the men.

The Government without delay appointed a Commission consisting of Lord Balfour of Burleigh and Sir Lynden Macassey. Lord Balfour's position as an ex-Secretary of State for Scotland, his local connection with so many interests in Glasgow, coupled with the respect with which all classes of the community looked up to him, made him an ideal Chairman for this Commission. Sir Lynden Macassey had for a considerable time before the war been engaged in engineering work upon the Clyde, and knew, from his working association with Clyde workers, their outlook and their temperament. In addition to which he possessed the personal friendship of most of the local trade union representatives. Lord Balfour of Burleigh and Sir Lynden Macassey at once proceeded to Glasgow. In fact so hurried was their departure that they only received by wire, on their arrival in Glasgow, the terms of reference to them as Commissioners. They at once publicly announced their intention of opening an inquiry into the grievances of the Clyde munition workers at the Central Hotel, Glasgow, at 9 a.m. on the following morning.

The morning arrived; the largest room in the hotel, and it held several hundred people, was seen to be packed to overflowing; numerous trade unionists were unable to get in to the inquiry. Feeling was running dangerously high when Lord Balfour rose to open the inquiry. He met with a reception hostile in the extreme. For five to ten minutes it was impossible for him to make himself heard; argument and appeal seemed fruitless, but at length his commanding figure and powerful voice and obvious sincerity and sympathy triumphed over opposition. His personality soon dominated the meeting. He was quick to realise that to announce the Commission as representing the Government would be to

deny it any possibility of doing good. He therefore informed the angry assembly that he and his brother Commissioner had been appointed to investigate the grievances of the Clyde workers, that they were in no way subservient to the Government, and that they intended frankly and fearlessly, as independent persons, to report to the Government any grievances which they were satisfied did exist. This instantly appeased the tumult. The Clyde had got what they had long wanted, a Commissioner not afraid to speak his mind, no mere official. A prominent trade unionist moved a resolution of confidence in the Commissioners which was seconded by another union delegate. The meeting said they were perfectly prepared to put the whole of their grievances without reserve before Lord Balfour, as a brother Scot, and to take his judgment upon them. With this extraordinary change of spirit the inquiry then opened. It lasted right throughout the whole term of the protracted sittings. Indeed it was remarkable during the later stages to see how the men, when putting forth some grievance of a trivial character, would at once accept Lord Balfour's suggestion that it was really beneath their dignity as Scotsmen during a time of war to make any bother about such a petty matter. A great measure of Lord Balfour's success was his happy knack of being able to talk to the Clydeside worker in his own broad vernacular Doric. That did more to establish a relationship of personal confidence between him and the men than perhaps any other circumstances connected with that anxious and critical inquiry.

In the course of the proceedings it proved to be necessary to visit Duke Street Prison in order that the evidence of the incarcerated shipwrights might be obtained. Very considerable objection was raised by the Scottish Office to the innovation of taking the evidence of convicted prisoners. Lord Balfour, however, quickly laid low all such pedantry. He said as an old ex-Secretary for Scotland he was the last man in the world to propose any course which would disparage the dignity of the law in Scotland, but that he had pledged his honour to go to the very bottom of things. To conclude the inquiry and omit to take the evidence of those most chiefly implicated would, he said, be a denial of justice to the Clydeside workers in which he would have no part. Arrangements were therefore hurriedly made for Lord Balfour and his brother Commissioner to visit Duke Street Prison on a Sunday afternoon. It was an unforgettable scene. As the Commissioners walked down the corridor off which the shipwrights were confined to a room at the end

which the Governor of the prison had set aside for the inquiry, it was possible to hear several of the shipwrights singing a psalm in the Scottish metrical version. Lord Balfour was deeply impressed. He made the remark that that was the most serious feature of the inquiry. He was satisfied that the shipwrights were conscientiously fighting for a principle which they felt, rightly or wrongly, underlay the good of their fellows and the welfare of their trade. He had several conversations prior to the opening of the inquiry with several of the shipwrights, and expressed himself deeply moved by the depth of religious feeling which in the cases of several of them lay behind their opposition to the Munitions Act. To describe any of them as disloyal or seditious, as had been done by some irresponsible public persons, was a gross misuse of provocative language. There were two of them who had sent shortly after the outbreak of war all their sons to the Colours. In conversation with Lord Balfour they said that they realised that their action was having the result of depriving their sons of the munitions of war which at that time were absolutely vital, but they said they felt they would have their sons' support in sacrificing even their interests for the good of their trade. It was the spirit of the old Covenanters in a modern reincarnation. Lord Balfour took the opportunity of writing that same evening to the authorities in London his impressions. He had formed the strongest opinion against imprisonment for industrial offences under the Munitions Act.

Ultimately Lord Balfour and his fellow-Commissioner made their Report. It was at once communicated to the Government, who at once decided to introduce as a first measure at the opening of Parliament in 1916 an amending Act which amongst other things would do away with the penalty of imprisonment. A large number of other recommendations were made for the purpose of avoiding, so far as possible, the hardships inherent in, and where impracticable mitigating the severity of, the Munitions Code. With one small exception every single one of these recommendations was incorporated in the amending Act. Its passage into law cleared the air. The Clydeside workers were quick to express their appreciation of Lord Balfour's firm yet sympathetic investigation of their grievances. They were quite convinced that no one but himself would have appreciated their case as he had done. One thing is quite clear, had the Clydeside inquiry been handled by some other person, who possessed none of Lord Balfour's knowledge of and influence over the Scottish worker, there would assuredly have been precipitated

a long and deadly struggle between the Government and the workers in Glasgow at a time which was absolutely critical in the history of the country. He was the recipient after the amending Act passed into law of tributes of respect and gratitude from all sections of labour on the Clyde.

INDEX

ABERDEEN, Dowager Lady, 34
 — fourth Earl, 8-9, 31, 81, 192
 — Marquis of, 31, 168
 • **Aberdeen**, Synod held, 1881, 38, 39;
 reputation of, 81
 Advocates, the Lord, 86-88
 Africa, South, Governorship of, 99
 Aged and Infirm Ministers Fund, 38, 40
 Aldwyn, Lord St., 109
 "Alloa," 23; a visit to, 80-61
 Almond, Dr., 13
 Alness, Lord. *See* Munro, Mr. Robert
 America, Lord Balfour in, 1910, 36
 Anderson, Mr. MacVicar, 167
 Anglican Church, the, and the Church of
 Scotland, 5-10, 166-87, 182; Lord
 Balfour's relations with, 183-84;
 the Salisbury Committee, 184; sup-
 ply of Army Chaplains, 184-91
 Argyll and Sutherland Regiment, the,
 174
 Askwith, Lord, and the Clyde workers,
 206-7
 • Asquith, Mr., 93; arrangement regard-
 ing the Army Chaplains, 184
 Assembly, the, and Lord Balfour:
 Assembly of 1881, 38, 39; 1890,
 speech of Lord Balfour, 47-49;
 action regarding the omission in
 the Queen's letter, 85-86; speech
 of Lord Balfour on death of Queen
 Victoria, 88-89; his habit of punctu-
 ality, 106-7; 1912, Lord Balfour's
 Report and Deliverance, 152-58;
 1913, presentation of Lord Balfour's
 portrait, 162; Commission of the
 Assembly, November 1914, 180

 "Badminton," Lord Balfour's article on
 Curling, 26
 Balfour of Burleigh Loch Leven estate,
 18
 Balfour, Lady, reminiscences *quoted*,
 13, 15-18, 27, 34, 58, 73-74, 83
 et seq., 98; marriage, 31; a descrip-
 tion of, 81; in Canada, 137-38; a
 letter from Lord Balfour, 162, 172
 — Margarst, 15-16
 — Mary, 16
 — of Burleigh, Lord, childhood, 12-
 13; Eton, 13-14; private tutors,
 17-18; letters from Oriol, 18-21;
 as a Presbyterian, 19-20; removal of
 the attainder, 20-22; as a sports-
 man, 23-30, 81-82; representative
 Peer for Scotland, 32; work for

Church Defence, 32, 35, 45-51; the
 Inquiry on the Factory and Work-
 shops Bill, 34; on the Endowed
 Institutions of Scotland, 35; the
 Railway Employees' Festival, 1882,
 35-36; Aged and Infirm Ministers
 Fund, 38, 40; his idea of a Union
 within the Church, 40, 143-50,
 195 *et seq.*; his cry of "Syeto-
 matise," 42; speech on Local
 Government (England and Wales)
 Bill, 1888, 57-58; at the Board of
 Trade, 58 *et seq.*; admitted to the
 Privy Council, 63-64; Secretary
 for Scotland, 85-71; work in the
 Hebrides, 73; a description by
 Mr. George Lee, 79-83; and Queen
 Victoria, 83-87; and King Edward,
 85, 86; and the Duchy of Corn-
 wall, 85-86; and King George, 88;
 speech on the death of Queen
 Victoria, 88-89; and the term
 "England" and "English," 89-93;
 incident concerning the Scottish
 Regalia, 94-95; in the House of
 Lords, 103-14; as a speaker,
 104-6; and Religious teaching in
 Schools, 108-9, 129-30; the Budget
 of 1909, 109-13; and Lord Salis-
 bury, 115-18; the Fiscal contro-
 versy, 116-18; Memorandum of
 1911, 120 *et seq.*; determination to
 resign, 122-24; letter to Mr.
 Chamberlain, Jan. 1903, 125-27;
 letter to Lord Long, 1907, 127-30;
 on Socialism, 130; letter to Lord
 Lansdowne, Jan. 1908, 130-31;
 supports the Chelsea Free Trade
 candidate in 1910, 131-32; the
 Royal Commission to Canada, 134-
 41; letter concerning the Commis-
 sion, 141-42; a list of engagements,
 145; the Caldoy Enquiry, 148;
 moves a Deliverance in favour of
 Union, 152-58; visit to Russia,
 180; *Rise and Development of*
Presbyterianism in Scotland, 161;
 presentation of his portrait, 162;
 President of the Missionary Con-
 ference at Edinburgh, 1910, 164-
 85; the Scottish Coal Trade Con-
 ciliation Board, 165-66; the political
 pension, 170; his statement in the
 House of Lords, 170-71; loss of
 the Mator, 175-77; in the Ministry
 of Munitions, 178-81; and the

- Chaplains for the Scottish Forces, 180-91; death, 198-202; his war work, 204-10
- Balfour of Burleigh, Sir James, 16
- Right Hon. A. J., confusion of names, 36, 64; leader of the House, 39; Premiership, 65; Secretary for Scotland, 70; *Insular Free Trade*, 123, 141; at Birmingham, 130-32; and Lord Balfour's reports, 140; and the Church of Scotland, 149-50, 169
- Robert, fourth Lord, 16
- Robert, fifth Lord Balfour of Burleigh, story of, 14-16
- Balmoral, 84, 85
- Bannerman, Sir Henry Campbell, and the Church of Scotland, 39-40, 54
- Bar Harbour, 137
- Barra, educational system in, 73-75
- Bath and Wells. *See* Kenion, Bishop
- Beach, Sir Michael Hicks, letter to Lord Balfour, 1902, 117, 119
- Beaconsfield, Earl of, 21, 34, 44
- Beauchamp, Earl, 34
- Benson, Archbishop, congratulations to Lord Balfour, 109, 164, 196
- Mrs., letter to Lord Burleigh, 109
- Birmingham, 129
- Blackburn, Hugh, 12
- Blackwood, Mr., 20, 53
- Blair Athole Curriers, the, 26
- Bonspiel, the International, 1897, 26
- Boston, tutor, 41
- Bothwell, Earl of, 16
- Boyle, Sir Courtenay, 61-64
- Brade, Sir R., 186, 191
- Breadalbane, Marquis of, 65
- "British," the term, 91-93
- Browne, Balfour, 62
- Bruce, Alexander, of Kennet, 16
- George, on the death of Lord Burleigh, 201
- Hon. Mary, 138
- Hugh, 14
- Jean, accounts of Lord Burleigh, 175, 198-99
- King Robert, 17
- Mr., 12; death, 14; the attainder, 16, 20; the Disruption controversy, 19; stories of, 35-36
- Mrs., 12-13, 31
- Robert, of Kennet Alloa, 17
- William, 14, 16
- Bryce, Mr., 137, 149-50
- Mrs., 137
- Buchanan, Sir George, 160
- Buckingham, Duke of, 59
- Buckmaster, Lord, marriage Bill, 147
- Budget of 1909, discussion in the House of Lords, 109-13
- Burleigh Castle, Loch Leven, 16
- Burleigh, Master of, birth, 36-37; return from the South African War, 85; speech on coming of age, 100-2; his death in France, 174-77
- Burley, Balfour of, confusion regarding, 36-38
- "Burly." *See* Burley, Balfour of
- Burns, Mr. John, 160
- Caithness Fishermen's Association, 114
- Caldely Enquiry, 1913, 146
- Caledonian Railway, a story of the, 58-57
- Cambridge University Press, request to Lord Balfour, 161
- Cameron, Dr., 47
- Campbell, Mr., appointment, 86-87
- Mr. James, 40
- Canada, Governor-Generalship of, 99
- Royal Commission on Trade Routes to the West Indies, 134-37
- Canmore, Malcolm, 16
- Canongate of Edinburgh, the, 15
- Carsebreck, 26
- Cecil, Lord Hugh, 109, 129, 132
- Celt, the, characteristics, 1-5
- Chamberlain, Mr., and Disestablishment, 45; and Lord Balfour, 99; his Fiscal programme, 116-17, 129, 132-33; the Corn Duty, 120-21; as Colonial Secretary, 121-22; resignation, 123-25; letter from Lord Balfour, January 1903, 120-27
- Mr. Austen, 133, 160
- Chaplains for the Scottish Forces, 180-91
- Chelsea, 1905, 129; election, 1910, 131-32
- "Church-Defiance Defence," 49
- Civil Service, Scottish, Lord Balfour's interest in, 82
- Clackmannan, 201
- and Kennet Club, 24-26
- Church of, 61; Parish Council, 146
- "Clause V," 148-50
- Clyde Munition Workers, Lord Balfour's report on, 178-80, 204-10
- Cobden, his cry of "Agitate," 42
- Colonial Preference, 117, 140-41
- Congested Districts (Scottish) Board, 70-73
- Congo cruelties, 164
- Conservative Association, and the work of Defence, 41-42; effect of the Fiscal controversy on the party, 122-25, 151
- "Constitution," the, Lord Balfour's loyalty, 134
- Constitutional Club, Lord Balfour and the, 125, 131-32
- Corn Duty agitation, 121-22, 128-29
- Cornwall, Duchy of, Lord Balfour and the, 85-86
- Covenanters, the, 5, 6, 36, 161
- Cox, Harold, 145
- Craik, Sir Henry, 198; *Reminiscences*, 124; letter to Lord Balfour, 172
- Craithie parish, 86-87
- Crammer, Bishop, 8
- Crewe, Marquis of, 134; reply on the pension question, 171
- Crofters' Commission, superseded, 70
- Crown Court Church, 66-67, 167-69
- Culdee Church, the, 6

- Cumming, Dr., 167
 Curling, Lord Balfour's love of, 23-30
- Dargai, storming of, 181-82
 Davidoff, M., 160
 Davidson, Ahp., telegram to Lord Balfour, 162
- Davos Sanatorium, 144
 Derby, Lord, saying of, *quoted*, 42
 Devonshire, Duke of, the Education Bill, 109; *Life* published, 119; Leader of the House of Lords, 121; resignation, 123. *See also* Hartington, Marquis of
- Disestablishment controversy, 32, 41-51
 Disruption, the, 6, 19, 31, 55, 66, 163
 Dover House for the Scottish Office, 69
 Ducie, Lord, 85
 Dunblane, 35
 Dundas, Henry, 67
 Dunedin, Lord, 197
- Edinburgh, Presbytery of, 147; Missionary Conference, 1910, 164-65
 Education Bill (English) 1906, 108-9
 — in Barra, 73-75
 — Religious, in schools, Lord Balfour on, 108-9, 129-30
 Educational Endowments Committee, 35
 Edward VII, King, Lord Balfour and, 85-86; coronation postponed, 93
 Eldership, office of the, 19
 Elliott, Hon. Arthur, 123
 Endowed Institutions of Scotland Inquiry, 35
 "England" and "English," petition concerning the terms, 89-93
 Episcopate, the Scot and the, 5-6
 Eton, Lord Balfour at, 13-14, 18
- Factory and Workshops Bill Inquiry, 34
 Fairfield Strike Enquiry, 177-78
 Farrer, Lord, letter of, 112-13
 Fergusson, Sir James, 14
 Fielding, Mr., 134, 141
 Finance Bill, June 1902, Lord Balfour's speech, 118-19
 Finlay, Mr. R. B., Disestablishment Bill of, 45, 47, 53
 Fiscal Controversy, 116, 128, 133; effect on the Conservative Party, 122-23
 Fisheries, Scottish, the trawlers, 72-75; the Fisheries Board, 75-76; whale fishing, 76
 Fleming, D.D., Dr. Archibald, 199
 Forbes, Duncan, 67
 Foreign Missions, Conference, 1882, 40-42; Missionary Conference, 1910, 164-65
 Forrest, Dr., 21
 Franchise, Women's, Lord Balfour and, 192-94
 Free Church Case, decision of the House of Lords, 148
 — Trade, Lord Balfour and, 37-38, 118-19, 124, 128, 131-42
 — Trade Union, the, 133
- Gaelic Society, welcome to Lord Balfour, 136
 Gardening, Lord Balfour's love of, 13, 81, 98
 George, Mr. Lloyd, 109; the Land Values Bill, 170; letter from Lord Balfour, 189
 George V, King, and Lord Balfour, 86; coronation, 96; message to the Missionary Conference, 165
 Germany, shadow of, 126
 Gilchrist, Mr., 19-20
 Gladstone, Mr., the Glen Almond School, 8; his Disestablishment policy, 32, 34, 41-42, 45, 47-54; and Lord Rosebery, 68
 — Mrs., 23
 Glasgow, Lord Lansdowne in, 131; housing conditions, 178-79; the munition trouble, 178-80, 204-10; a visit to Duke Street prison, 208-9
 Glen Almond School, 8
Gleaned (The), article *quoted*, 60-61
 Gordon, Lady Katherine. *See* Balfour, Lady
 — Mr., 137
 Goschen, Mr., speech, 117
 Gould, Mr. F. C., 170
 Grant, Provost, 24-25
 Granville, Lord, 57-59
 "Great Britain," the term, 91-93
 Greenwich, 132
Guardian (The), review of Lord Balfour's book, 161
 Guiana, British, 139
 Gwynne, Bishop, 184, 188
- Haldane, Lord, 189; a tribute to Lord Balfour, 103
 Halifax, Lord, 146
 Hall, Miss, 14
 Hamilton, Lord George, 123
 — Miss Jane. *See* Bruce, Mrs.
 Hansard, reports, 57, 109, 118
 Harcourt, Sir William, 68
 Harrogate, 20
 Hartington, Marquis of, 44-45. *See also* Devonshire, Duke of
 Harum, David, 155
 Haymarket Station, 83
 Hebrides, education in the, 73-75; the people, 77
 Horefoild, Bishop of (Percival), 109
 Highlands and Islands, agrarian trouble, 69-72
 Holyrood, 197
 Home Rule, advent of, 125-28, 133
 Hope, Major John, of Pinkie, 138
 Horseman, Mr. Edward, 21
 "House (the)," Lord Balfour on the term, 169
 Housing in Glasgow, 178-79
 Huxley, Professor, on the Fisheries, 75-76
- Imperial and Foreign Corporation, the, 160
 India, Viceroyalty of, 100; question of the Scottish Chaplains, 182

- Insular Free Trade*, 123, 141
 Inverkeithing, 14
 Inverness Burghs, 53
 Islington, Lord. *See* Poynder, Sir John Dickson
- Jacobite rising of 1715, 15-16
 Jamaica, Lord Balfour in, 138-39
 Johnston, Sheriff C. N., 157
 Jubilee Nurses, the, 72
- * Kenion, Bishop, 109
 Kennet, birthplace of Lord Balfour, 12-13; an account of, 14 *et seq.*; the home at, 97-100
 — Bruce of, 16-17, 61
 Kennington, 86
 Kenshin, Mr., 160
 Kilkerran, 14
 Kilmarnock 1885, 45-47
 Kingsburgh, Lord, 69
 Kinnaird, Lord, 175
 Kitchener, Earl, 182, 184, 188
- Lambeth, 162
 Land Clauses Consolidation Act, 108
 — Court, Scottish, 70
 — Values Bill, 170
 — Values (Scottish) Bill, 113
 Langham, Dr., 13
 Lansdowne, Marquis of, amendment of, 111; letter from Lord Burleigh, 130-31
 Law, Mr. Bonar, and political pensions, 171-72
 Layman's League, the, 55
 Lee, Mr. George, a description of his Chief, 79-83
 Leven, Loch, 16
 Liberal Party, and Disestablishment, 41, 44, 45
 Liberationists, and Religious Equality, 44-46
 Lilfords', the, 17-18
 Liquor Traffic, Bill for Control of the, 178-80
 Livingstone Centenary, 1913, 164
 Local Government (England and Wales) Bill, 1888, 57-58
 — (Scotland) Bill, 1883, 56
 Loomhaden, 15
 London Water Bill, 107-8
 Long, Lord, letter from Lord Balfour, 127-30
 Lords, House of, Lord Balfour's appearances, 34, 35, 50, 59, 170-71; the Budget of 1909, 109-13
 Loretto School, 13
 Luckock, the Revd., 18
- Macalister, Sir Donald, 198
 Macassey, Sir Lynden, 177, 180, 207
 Macaulay, lines *quoted*, 103, 113
 MacCarthy, Mr., 134
 MacGregor, Dr., 168
 Mackintosh of Mackintosh, on Lord Balfour, 28-30
 Maclean of Ardgour, 174-75
- Maclean, Rev. Donald, 167, 168, 181
 Macleod, Very Rev. Norman, 153
 Macnie, Rev. R. L., 139
 Macrae, Rev. Alex., 169
 Mar and Kellie, Lord, 100
 March, Lord, 34
 Marshall, Dr. Theodore, 162
 Mary Queen of Scots, heirlooms left by, 16
 Melbourne, Lord, 44, 70
 Memorandum by Lord Balfour, 1911, 119-24
 Midlothian Campaign, 1880, 67-68
 Milligan, Dr., 198
 Milner, Lord, 99
 Missionary Meeting, 1910, 165
 Mitchell, Mr. J. H., 207
 — Very Rev. Dr. Mitford, presentation of Lord Balfour's portrait, 162-63
 Mons, 174
 Montgomery, Sir G., 16
 Morley, Lord, 59, 112
 Morris, Sir Daniel, 134
 Mott, Mr., 164
 Moy Hall, 30
 Munitions, Ministry of, Lord Balfour's work, 177, 204-10
 Munro, Mr. Robert, address on the Scottish Office, 66-67; on the Fishery Board, 75; on whale fishing, 76-77; on the office of Secretary, 77
 Murray, Mr. Graham, 27, 78
- New York, Lord Balfour in, 137
 Newton, Lord, 185
 1900 Club, the, 133
 Nonconformist (*The*), on Lord Balfour's speech, 49
 Norfolk, Duke of, 96
 North British Railway, 56-57
- O'Connor, Mr. T. P., 172
 Oliphant, Mrs., 53
 Onslow, Earl of, 58
 Osborne, 84
 Ottawa, Lord Balfour in, 137
 Owen, Sir Hugh, 58
 Oxford, Lord Balfour at, 18-21
- Pagan, Rev. Gavin, 181
 Parmoor, Lord, 147
 Paterson, Mr., 134
 Patronage Act, 11; Queen Victoria and the, 87
 Peacock, Sir Walter, 86
 Peel, Sir Robert, 42
 Pellam, Hon. Mrs. T. H. W. letters of Lord Balfour, 18-19; notes on his life, 21-22
 Perth and Stirling, Synod of, 32
 "Policies," Scottish term, 98
 Poynder, Sir John Dickson, 134-36
 Preferences for the Colonies, 119-23; Lord Balfour and, 135
 Presbyterian Church in Scotland. *See* Scotland, Church of
 Press attacks on Lord Salisbury, 64

- Procurator, his work in the General Assembly, 157
- Protection, 117, 131; Lord Balfour on, 141-42
- Punch, 23
- Putumayo, 164
- Queensland, Governorship vacant, 58
- Railway Commissioners, vacancy, 64
- Employees, Lord Balfour and the, 35-36, 56
- Rates and Canal Act, 61-64
- Rainy, Principal, 44, 47, 51, 78
- Raleigh, Sir Walter, 86
- Rankin, Mr., 99
- Referendum, proposals for a, 192-94
- Regalia, the Scottish, incident regarding, 94-95
- Religious Education in Schools, Lord Balfour on, 108-9, 129-30
- "Religious Equality," the cry for, 55
- Richmond and Gordon, Duke of, 65, 68-69
- "Rise and Development of Presbyterianism in Scotland," by Lord Balfour, 161
- Ritchie, Mr., and the Corn Duty, 119-23
- Robertson, Rev. Mr., 36-37
- Roman Catholics, Lord Balfour and the, 46; number in Barra, 73-74; the Army Chaplains, 182, 184
- Rosebery, Earl of, and Mr. Gladstone, 68; style, 110; on death of Lord Balfour, 175
- Royal Horticultural Society, 98
- Scottish Corporation Society, 175
- Russell, Dr., 179
- Russia, the visit to, 160
- Russian and English Bank, St. Petersburg, 160
- Rustenburg, 102
- St. Alphege, Church of, 86
- St. Andrew, Church of, British Guiana, 139
- St. Columba, Church of, 167, 196, 198
- St. Cuthbert, Church of, 168
- St. George, Church of, 181
- St. Giles, Church of, 184
- St. Jude, Church of, 21
- St. Petersburg, 160
- Salisbury Committee, the, 184
- Marchioness of, 22
- Marquis of, a remark on Lord Balfour, 54; and Lord Granville, 57-58; speech for Lord Balfour, 59; letter to, 63-64; the Scottish Office, 69; the petition to Queen Victoria, 89-93; resignation, 115-17; and the Army Chaplains, 183
- San Paulo Board, Chairmanship, 145
- Sands, Hon. Lord, *Dr. Archibald Scott and his Times*, 148; work of, 154-58
- Scott, the, characteristics, 1-5; religion, 5-9
- Scotland, Church of, tenets, 6-9; agitation for disestablishment, 32; work of Defence, 35, 41 *et seq.*; Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman on the, 39-40; movement for Unity, 40, 143-44, 147-58, 194; the King's Chaplains, 96; Lord Balfour moves a Deliverance, 1912, 152-58; the ideal of a National Church, 154-56; the Church in London, 166-67; affairs in war time, 180-91
- Scotland Yard, the name, 66
- Scotsman (The)*, articles quoted, 68, 94
- Scott, Dr. Archibald, 52, 147-51, 168; *Dr. Archibald Scott and his Times*, 148
- Scottish Central Railway, 12
- Churches Bill, 148-50; third reading, 196-97; becomes law, 202-3
- Coal Trade Conciliation Board, 1913, 165-66
- Episcopal Church, the, 6
- Fishermen, and Lord Balfour, 114
- Office, Act passed, 1885, 65-67; Dover House, 69; duties, 69-72; powers created by Amendment Act, 1887, 70; Mr. Munro on, quoted, 77; importance of, 124; resignation of Lord Balfour, 124-25
- "Scottish," the term, 93-94
- Sharp, Archbishop, murder of, 36-38
- Shaw, Tommy, 54
- Shetlands, wireless telegraphy established, 77-78
- Simms, General, 182, 184
- Simpson, Dr., 201
- Small Landholders' Act (Scotland), 70
- Socialism, 126; Lord Balfour on, 130
- "Somerset Herald," 96
- South African War, return of the Master of Burleigh, 85, 100, 102
- Spectator*, Lord Balfour and the, 92-93
- Stammore, Lord. *See* Gordon, Mr.
- Stenton, Henry, 14
- Stevenson, R. L., quoted, 163
- Stirling, 143; Railway employees of, 35, 56
- Story, Very Rev. Prof., 182
- Stracathro, 40
- Sugar Preference, 142
- Sunday Closing (Welsh) Bill, 60-61
- Tait, Archbishop, 31, 36
- Talbot, Bishop, 161
- Tarif Reform, Lord Burleigh and, 125, 131-33, 141-42
- League, 129
- "Taxation for Revenue purposes alone," principle of, 128
- Times (The)*, Lord Balfour's recollections published, 119; on the Royal Commission to Canada, 134-36; the reports, 139-41
- Tithes Bill, 1899, 39-40
- Titmarsh, 18
- Tolbooth of Edinburgh, 15
- Trade, Board of, Lord Balfour accepts the Secretaryship, 58
- Trawling in Prohibited Areas Prevention Bill, 72-76, 114

Trevelyan, Sir George, 47, 65-66
Tulloch, Principal, 50

Ulva, Island of, 70

Union, Act of, 44; terms used, 90-95

Unionist Party, and the Free Traders, 131

United Free Church, efforts for unity,
151-53, 194; members of, at the
Front, 185

— Case, the, 148-50

University Conservative Club, 32

Victoria, Queen, reversal of the attainder,
17; Lord Balfour and, 83-89; and
the Patronage Act, 87; the petition
regarding the word "English,"
89-93

Walker, Mr., 19

Wann, Dr., 81, 145

War, the, Church affairs during, 180-91;
the case of the Scottish Chaplains,
182 *et seq.*

Watt, Mr. Fiddes, 106

Wee Frees, claims of the, 78

Welsh Sunday Closing Bill, 60-61

West Indics, Royal Commission to the,
134-37

Westland Whigs, 5, 6

Whale fishing, 76

White, Dr., letter to Lady Balfour, 195;
signs the Report, 203

Whittinghame, 94

Wild Birds Preservation Act, 39

Williamson, Rt. Rev. Dr. Wallace,
action of, 151-52; and the Report
of 1912, 157-58; efforts for union,
162; and the Army Chaplains, 185-
86; letter to Lady Balfour, 195;
the burial service, 201-3

Willis' Rooms, 81

Windsor, 84

Wireless telegraphy, early use in the
Shetlands, 77-78

Womou, Franchise for, 192-94

York, Archbishop of, 165

